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His Majesty King George the Fourth.

A HISTORY OF
THE BRITISH EMPIRE
IN THE
NINETEENTH CENTURY

BY
MARCUS R. P. DORMAN, M.A.

VOL. II
THE CAMPAIGNS OF WELLINGTON AND THE
POLICY OF CASTLEREAGH
(1806-1825)

WITH FOUR PHOTOGRAVURES

LONDON
KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER & CO. L^{TD}
DRYDEN HOUSE, GERRARD STREET, W.
1904

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PREFACE TO VOLUME II

THE fate of the modern world was determined during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Indeed the issues of that period were the most important which have ever occurred in the history of mankind. Kingdoms were broken up and rebuilt, monarchs were raised from the people, crowned and dethroned, and new systems of government were invented, tried, and discarded. The Pope was hurled by violence from his chair, and restored by force of arms. Treaties and laws were made and broken every few months. Each of the Powers of Europe was friend and foe to each in turn, except England, which was steadily hostile to Napoleon throughout. Armies and fleets were called into being, and destroyed with reckless prodigality, and commerce was hampered by ruthless blockades. Everywhere force reigned triumphant.

In the centre of it all stood two of the most fascinating figures in history, Wellington and Napoleon, and around them were grouped the monarchs, statesmen, and generals of Europe. The British Ministers had a difficult task to perform and made many mistakes, for they appointed generals who could not lead, despatched useless expeditions, and were culpably tardy in lending aid to their allies.

At the settlement of 1814, however, they redeemed all their errors, for they retained the very conquests which were essential to the growth of a world-wide Empire. Malta, Ceylon, and the Cape of Good Hope are the keys to the seas. The first opens the door to India and Egypt, the second to China and the Far East, the third to the whole continent of South Africa. If Malta had been restored, we should probably not be in Egypt now; if Ceylon had been given up, our position in India would be less secure, and our power to strike in the Far East much diminished; if the Cape had been handed back to the Dutch, it is doubtful if South Africa would now be British territory.

The reputation of Lord Liverpool and his colleagues was so damaged by their foolish home policy that their wisdom in managing foreign affairs has usually been forgotten. Of all the Ministers, Lord Castlereagh has been the most unfairly treated. A study of his policy from the original sources cannot fail to convince all that he was one of the strongest, most sincere, and consistently honourable of statesmen who has ever sat in a British Cabinet. I feel sure, indeed, that Sir Spencer Walpole and Miss Harriet Martineau would have modified their censure of this statesman if they had had access to the archives, and that the popular opinion of his character is not just. It must be a pleasure to all historians to be able to record that Fox, during his short tenure of office, followed the best traditions in directing foreign affairs, and died a staunch patriot. It is very interesting to find that the British Government encouraged the Prussians to form secret societies, and aided them with funds. All correspondence was conducted so that only the initiated could understand it, and the reference to banks and markets recalls vividly the letters which preceded the famous raid into the Transvaal a few years ago. Perhaps the brightest of all the new jewels discovered in Chancery Lane is the account of the behaviour of Alexander when Napoleon was already half-way to Moscow. He was by no means miserable or alarmed, but so confident of success that he dumfounded the British Minister by a request to be permitted to extend Russia to the Vistula after Napoleon had been beaten back. Some doubtful points are now explained. Canning sent the fleet to Copenhagen before he heard of the maritime league started by Alexander and Napoleon at Tilsit, and the true story of the secret treaty between England, Austria, and France, at the beginning of 1815, will be told in its proper place.

I again return my best thanks to the officials at the Record Office and the British Museum for their unfailing courtesy and help, and also to the attendants at the Lenox Library, New York, U.S.A., where part of this volume was written. I greatly regret that it is too late to thank Mr. Lecky personally for some valuable advice.

M. R. P. D.

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A HISTORY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

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THE death of Pitt removed the one bulwark between the King and the Fox-Grenville party, for it was soon obvious that the weak Administration, which had been held together only by the immense personal influence of the late statesman, was tottering to its fall. There arose a cry in the country for a Government consisting of men of talent, character, and experience, but the Court resolutely determined to maintain its prerogative, and was by no means prepared to surrender in its choice of Ministers. George III. therefore offered the offices and position of Pitt to Lord Hawkesbury, who seized the opportunity to secure for himself the wardenship of the Cinque Ports, and then declined the difficult task of forming a Government. At length the impossibility of continuing with the wreck of the late Ministry became apparent even to the King, who then decided to call for the assistance of Lord Grenville, and sent the Earl of Dartmouth with a message to him on January 26, 1806. The meeting was most satisfactory, and when Lord Grenville stated that no Administration could be durable or serviceable unless it

1806.
January.

1806. contained Mr. Fox and the leading statesmen of all parties,
January. the King answered, "I thought so and meant it so,"¹ and requested that the necessary arrangements should be concluded as soon as possible.

The new Administration of "all the talents" consisted of members of the Fox party, or the old Opposition, the Grenville party or the new Opposition, the "Prince of Wales' friends," and the supporters of Lord Sidmouth. It was perhaps the most curious mixture that has ever been placed in the Cabinet crucible. Lord Grenville was First Lord of the Treasury; Lord Sidmouth, Lord Privy Seal; Fox, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; Earl Spencer for Home Affairs; Windham for War and the Colonies; Earl Grey, First Lord of the Admiralty; Lord Moira, Master-General of Ordnance; Lord Henry Petty, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Lord Erskine, Lord Chancellor; Earl Fitzwilliam, President of the Council; and Lord Ellenborough, Lord Chief Justice.

At first the King was seriously alarmed when he realised that Fox was at length actually one of the Government, but soon the regular and punctual manner with which that Minister performed his duties entirely won his goodwill.² The chief contingency which the King feared as a result of the Whig return to power was the revival of the hated question of Roman Catholic Emancipation. This affected him to such an extent that he asked Lord Grenville to sign a paper admitting the right of the King to veto any measure of the Cabinet, to which the Ministers replied that this was unnecessary, since such a right was constitutional. Fox, indeed, now recognised the futility of agitating this question as had Pitt four years before, and the Cabinet had no intention of introducing at this time any comprehensive measure dealing with the subject.

The appointment of Lord Ellenborough to Cabinet rank had been made in order to oblige Lord Sidmouth, in spite of the strenuous opposition of Lord Castlereagh and Messrs. Canning and Perceval. Afterwards, on March 3rd, the Earl of Bristol in the Lords, and Mr. Spencer Stanhope in the

¹ *Annual Register*, 1806, p. 21.

² "Memoirs of the Life and Reign of George III.," Jesse, vol. iii. pp. 474-475.

Commons, raised the question whether it was constitutional to appoint one of his Majesty's judges to the Cabinet. They argued that the legislative, executive, and judiciary powers in England were separate, and ought to remain so, to which the Government replied that on several previous occasions judges had been consulted by the Crown in the executive departments of the State, and that one of the branches of the legislature, the House of Lords, was the supreme court of law. These arguments satisfied the Commons, and in the division which followed the Government received a majority of 158 votes. 1806. March.

It seems to be the fate of empire builders to be rewarded by their countrymen on their return to England either by impeachment or by adverse criticism in the House of Commons. This is the more unjust because, however insufficient may be the evidence in support of the charges which any irresponsible private member may make, the accused has to bear the opprobrium of that large class of people who imagine that an attack is never made without good reason. Wellesley was no exception to the rule, and instead of being met with an honourable reception and the gratitude of the whole country, he was subjected to the annoyance of being charged with various crimes and high misdemeanours by one Paull, a linen-draper's son of Wisbeach, who had been a trader at Lucknow, and had discovered that there was little hope of making abnormal profits under Wellesley's rule.¹ He now asked for papers relating to various affairs in Indian administration, and moved that they should be printed. The Government acquiesced at once, but nothing was discovered to support the charges, and the Commons passed a resolution approving the policy of Wellesley.

• Another famous trial occurred during this session. Viscount Melville was impeached for appropriating to his own use public money when he was treasurer of the navy, and also for having infringed the Act of 1785, for better regulating the office of treasurer of the navy, by allowing his paymaster Trotter to take from the Bank of England large sums of money for other than naval purposes. It was alleged

¹ "Parliamentary Debates," vol. vi. p. 465 *et seq.*

1806. also that he had allowed him to apply the money so obtained
May. to purposes of private use and emolument, and had himself fraudulently derived profit therefrom. After these charges had been proved, it was contended by the defence that the treasurer of the navy was not restrained, either by common or statute law, from making a temporary use of the money entrusted to him before it was wanted for the public service, provided it was at all times ready to answer the purposes for which it was voted. It was also argued that it was not contrary to the Act of the 25th of George III. for the treasurer to place money drawn from the Bank of England in the hands of his private banker. This construction of the law was ridiculed by the Attorney-General, and after the managers of the impeachment had closed their reply, the trial was adjourned. The Lords resumed the consideration of the case on May 28th, and on June 12th, by a large majority, found Lord Melville "not guilty of high crimes and misdemeanours charged on him by the impeachment of the House of Commons."¹

The chief debates of the session related to the military establishments, for it was imperative that the method of recruiting should be placed on a more satisfactory footing. The Army Reserve Bill passed at the commencement of the war was avowedly a temporary expedient, and had not worked well, for although with the aid of the ballot it had added in less than ten months more than 40,000 men to the army, of these no less than 38,000 procured substitutes by means of high bounties and voluntary enlistment.² This was so unsatisfactory that the Government decided to reform the whole system. Mr. Windham therefore introduced the question on April 3rd, and proposed that the term of military service should be divided into three periods of seven years each for the infantry, but that for the cavalry and artillery the first period should be ten years, the second six, and the third five. If the soldier should serve for two periods, he would be entitled to a pension for life, and if for three, he would be discharged with the full allowance of Chelsea, which might possibly be raised to as much as a shilling a day.

¹ *Annual Register*, 1806, p. 127.

² *Ibid.*, vol. xlviii. p. 41.

The expenses of the volunteer establishment were to be reduced £800,000 a year, and the period of training from eighty-five to twenty-six days.¹ The motion was opposed strongly by Lord Castlereagh, on the ground that it was inexpedient to revise any of the leading establishments during the war. In the army itself a great diversity of opinion existed among the officers consulted respecting short service.

1806.
April.

The first step, however, was to repeal the Additional Force Bill. Then on May 30th the introduction of limited service was proposed by the insertion of a clause in the Mutiny Bill. This was strongly opposed by the Court party, who argued that it was a direct attack on the royal prerogative, since his Majesty could at present enlist men for any period, whereas the new clause would only permit limited service. The King and the House of Lords were, however, now in the unpleasant position of being unable to defeat the measure, without refusing to pass the Mutiny Bill, and thereby disbanding the army. Very broad hints were therefore thrown out that his Majesty's sentiments were not in unison with his Ministers, and a distinction was attempted to be drawn between the regular army of the Crown raised by voluntary enlistment, and the other forces raised, more or less, by compulsion. Still, at the division on the first reading, the majority for the clause was 129, and Ministers wished to proceed to the second stage the same evening. The Opposition now resorted to obstructive tactics, and forced upon the House seven divisions, four of which were upon a repetition of the motion, "That the chairman do now leave the chair." All through the night members poured in and out of the division lobbies, until 6.30 A.M., when the debate was adjourned.² Eventually the third reading was carried, and the Bill sent to the House of Lords. Here again violent opposition was encountered, and it was supposed that many lords attached to the household would desert the Ministers. At the last moment one of the Royal Dukes, His Highness of Gloucester, came to the rescue of the Government, and made a strong speech in favour of the clause, when it was

¹ "Parliamentary Debates," vol. vi. p. 652 *et seq.*

² "Parliamentary History," vol. vi. p. 480.

1806.
March.

carried by a majority of 57. The King was, however, very jealous of his prerogative, and strongly resisted any attempt of the Ministers to gain control of the discipline of the army, which he insisted rested entirely with him through the Commander-in-Chief, whose appointment at this date, practically as well as theoretically, remained in the hands of the monarch. The dreary but necessary subject of Supply had already engaged attention, and the new Chancellor of the Exchequer opened the Budget on March 28. It showed no innovations, for the Government was content to follow the system of its predecessors. The sinking fund for the redemption of the National Debt was religiously respected, and the plan adopted of raising within the year the greater part of the supplies necessary for the public service. The Income-tax, which was now raised to 10 per cent. on all property above £50 per annum, undoubtedly added to the sufferings of the people, and caused a great deal of grumbling, especially when it was realised that the tax was increased by the very persons who had opposed it when it was first introduced. At this level it was estimated the tax would yield £5,000,000 a year.

Meanwhile Fox, the apostle of peace, was chiefly responsible for conducting the foreign affairs of the nation. His extravagant utterances when in Opposition, and his adulation of the French, had undoubtedly misled Napoleon and Talleyrand, who did not understand that our system of party government causes the Opposition to take up a position which they are not always prepared to maintain when the swing of the pendulum places them in power. Even if Whig statesmen in reality have sometimes been influenced by a tender solicitude for the welfare of the enemies of their country and have not been careful to conceal it when out of office, the sense of responsibility as trustees of the Empire, and the desire to avoid national opprobrium, counteract this feeling to a great extent when they find themselves responsible Ministers. It was thus with Fox. He had openly rejoiced at the success of the French arms and at the peace which he thought favourable to Napoleon, but as Secretary for Foreign Affairs he strenuously upheld the traditions of Pitt's Governments. There seemed never-

theless some hope that Europe would at length find repose. The ardour of the Czar had been quenched at Austerlitz; Italy, Holland, Spain and South Germany were under the heel of Napoleon, and Prussia was content with the possession of Hanover. 1806. February.

It seems also probable that the French Emperor himself desired peace in order to pursue with vigour his cherished ambition to conquer India. Negotiations for peace were indeed opened and in a curious manner. Fox wrote to Talleyrand on February 18, and stated that a person named Guillet de la Gevilliere had called upon him with the startling intelligence that he intended to kill the head of the French Government and thus settle all difficulties.¹ Possibly this was merely a trick to test the genuineness of the esteem which Fox had always expressed for Bonaparte.² Whether so or not, Talleyrand now stated that the Emperor desired peace with the terms of the Treaty of Amiens. Fox replied that the stipulations of the treaty had been variously interpreted in England, and asked for further explanations, but pointed out that England was allied to Russia and that "both interest themselves in the welfare of other countries." He proceeded, "England suffers least from the duration of the war and does not fear it," and concluded that he was prepared "to conclude peace with the interests and glory of the two countries inviolate."³ Talleyrand was surprised at this tone, so different to that which he was accustomed to hear from the Opposition leader, and answered somewhat testily that peace with France was possible and able to be lasting when "you don't interfere with her internal affairs, and when you do not wish to interfere in her legislation and commerce, nor insult her flag." He continued that Napoleon thought the rupture of the peace of Amiens was due to the refusal of England to enter into a treaty of commerce with him, and clearly stated that the French felt no confidence in the guarantee of a power (Russia) which had 300,000 troops even if weak in naval power. The views of the Emperor regarding Turkey

¹ F. O. Records, France, 72.

² "Life of Napoleon," Holland Rose, ii. 70.

³ F. O. Records, France, 73. Fox to Talleyrand, March 26.

1806.
April.

were then stated in the following terms: "L'intégrité, l'indépendance entière absolu de l'Empire Ottoman sont non seulement le désir le plus vrai de l'Empereur mais le point le plus constant de sa politique." Talleyrand concluded with the statement that no peace was possible if England wished not only to rule the seas by her own power, but the land also, by an alliance with Russia.¹ Fox in answer to this wrote that the idea of combining all Europe against France was chimerical, that it was no offence to refuse a commercial treaty, and that he did not propose Russia as a mediator, for the simple reason that since she was already allied with England, the Emperor Alexander must necessarily be a party to the peace.² Talleyrand now frankly confessed that he objected to a third party coming between England and France, that the Emperor Alexander had positively declared that it was his intention to remain outside the "debates" between France and England, that the treaty of alliance between Russia and England had nothing to do with the war of the last two years, and that if Napoleon adopted the principle of negotiating with England united to her allies, it would appear as though the third coalition still existed. He then said that nothing prevented England stopping the war without consulting others.³ Fox, however, remained obdurate, and replied that no argument was "sufficient to induce our Government to change the opinion already announced that all negotiation where Russia is not included as a party is absolutely inadmissible."⁴ Talleyrand made one more effort, by suggesting that the negotiations should take the same preliminary form as those adopted in 1782 by the Marquess of Rockingham, but Fox maintained his point. It seems clear now that Napoleon wished to sow dissension between England and Russia and to play his old game of pitting the one nation against the other, while waiting for a favourable opportunity to score from both. Although Fox successfully resisted this, he was anxious that the former offensive alliance with Russia should be altered into a solely defensive one, and to this Czartoryski the

¹ F. O. Records, France, 72. Talleyrand to Fox, April 1, 1806.

² Ibid. Fox to Talleyrand, April 8, 1806.

³ Ibid. Talleyrand to Fox, April 16.

⁴ Ibid. Fox to Talleyrand, April 20.

Russian Minister at once consented. Lord Yarmouth, one of the numerous Englishmen still kept under restraint in France, was now given his freedom in order that he might proceed to Paris for a preliminary discussion with Talleyrand. The chief points to settle were the restoration of Hanover to England, the fate of Sicily, and the guarantee of Turkish integrity. Yarmouth was instructed to demand the *uti possidetis* and to state that "if Russia offers to treat separately it is only in the way in which we do, that is to say separately in form, but in substance in concert with each other."¹ The first demand the English envoy made was that Hanover should be restored to Great Britain, to which Talleyrand, after consulting Napoleon, agreed. He next stated that as the British troops merely held Sicily on behalf of the King of Naples for its defence, England had no right to give it back to France. Finally he pleaded for the slaves, as was customary in every overture for peace at this date, and called Talleyrand's attention to the addresses of the Houses of Parliament in favour of abolishing the trade. Talleyrand replied that they did not wish for Sicily, and that England could obtain a guarantee of Turkish integrity from France as soon as she wished. Lord Yarmouth reported these views and returned to Paris to negotiate, but on his arrival was astonished to hear that Napoleon had proposed that Dalmatia, Ragusa, and Albania should be given to the King of Naples in exchange for Sicily. Albania was a province of the Turkish Empire which Russia and England were allied to maintain intact. This was therefore a double breach of faith, which destroyed the confidence Fox felt in Talleyrand, but Yarmouth was instructed to "continue the conference in order to ascertain if any more practicable shape could be given to the proposals for an exchange for Sicily." A great change now came over the scene, for the Russian envoy, M. d'Oubril, arrived in Paris and speedily showed that he was a very

1806.
July.

¹ F. O. Records, France, 73. To Lord Yarmouth, July 5, 1806: "The idea thrown out by M. Talleyrand of leaving Great Britain and France at liberty to prosecute the war against each other's allies is a state of things in which their respective fleets and armies would in fact be as much opposed to each other as they are now."—Instructions to Lord Yarmouth.

1806. weak and incompetent negotiator. He yielded to all the
July. demands of Napoleon, and signed a treaty with France by which it was agreed that the Russian troops should evacuate the countries of Ragusa, Montenegro, and Dalmatia, and the French troops the Turkish territory of Montenegro. The independence of the Ottoman Empire and the Seven Isles were recognised by both Powers, but in a secret article it was stipulated that the two Emperors should endeavour to force the Court of Madrid to cede the Balearic Islands to the Prince Royal, son of Ferdinand IV. of Sicily, in exchange for that country. The news of this treaty was at once sent home, and Lord Yarmouth asked for his passports.

During these negotiations a great change had been effected on the Continent by the Act of the Confederation of the Rhine, which was signed on July 12th. This completely destroyed the old Germanic Empire, which after decaying for years had received its first definite blow at the Treaty of Basle, and its death wound at the battle of Austerlitz.

Fox was quite disheartened. Nevertheless he still laboured for peace, and sent out the Earl of Lauderdale in August to assist and finally to supersede Lord Yarmouth. His instructions were couched in a firm tone, and clearly show that the statesman who for fifteen years had been using his marvellous powers of oratory in defence of the French Ministers had now discovered the shuffling, vacillating and double-dealing nature of their diplomacy. Lauderdale was told that the compensation to the King of Naples for Sicily mentioned in the Russian treaty was manifestly inadequate, and that it was aggravated by a fresh indignity when it was proposed to transfer that crown from his Majesty to his son.¹ A few days later he was informed that Count Stroganoff, the Russian ambassador in London, thought that the Court of St. Petersburg would not ratify M. d'Oubril's treaty, and that he was to lay particular stress on this fact.² This indeed proved to be the truth, for the Emperor indignantly repudiated his envoy's work at once. The two courts were

¹ F. O. Records, France, 74.

² Ibid. To Lauderdale, August 8, 1806.

therefore replaced in their former state of close and intimate alliance, and Lauderdale was instructed to say that the English occupation of Sicily placed that island fully within the benefit of the *uti possidetis*. Nevertheless Napoleon still refused to give up his claim. 1806. August.

Fox was now lying seriously and, as it proved, fatally ill. Lord Howick therefore proposed that he should accept a peerage in order that he might be relieved from the work of the House of Commons, but this he steadily refused. His reasons cannot be stated more strongly yet simply than in his own words to his nephew Lord Holland, who also urged him to seek rest. "The Slave Trade and Peace are two such glorious things. I cannot give them up even to you. If I can manage them I will then retire."¹ The request of the French that we should give up Sicily irritated and disappointed him exceedingly, for he considered it not only a most unreasonable demand but also clear proof of bad faith on the part of the French Government. Shortly before his death he gave utterance to the following opinion, which shows clearly that his ideas of French statesmen had been radically changed by his few months' practical intercourse with them. "It is not so much the value of the point in dispute as the manner in which the French fly from their word that disheartens me. It is not Sicily but the shuffling insincere way in which they act that shows me they are playing a false game, and in that case it would be very imprudent to make any concessions which by any possibility could be thought inconsistent with our honour or could furnish our allies with a plausible pretence for suspecting, reproaching, or deserting us."²

Fox died on September 13th, and England lost another of her greatest men. As a learned classic, as a keen and pungent debater, as a master of rhetoric and as a leader of men he had always been pre-eminent, now in his last months he had also proved to be an open and honest negotiator, a firm upholder of treaties, and above all a just and great patriot. In common with Pitt and all other eminent statesmen, he was always in favour of abolishing the slave trade at the earliest possible

¹ Fox's "Correspondence," Russell, vol. IV. p. 471.

² Ibid., p. 476.

1806.
Septem-
ber.

moment. He laboured to remove the Catholic disabilities and to institute a measure to reform the representation, yet he was by no means a democrat in the modern sense. He was opposed to warfare on principle, and this, combined with the fact that he was mostly in Opposition, no doubt caused him to express himself in terms more antagonistic to the Government and more friendly to the foes of England than his feelings really warranted. He was succeeded at the Foreign Office by Lord Howick, and the negotiations continued. A new phase was now caused by overtures from Prussia to England. King Frederick William was disposed to discuss the possession of Hanover at the conclusion of a general peace, and had sent orders that the ports should be opened, and that Prussian ships should leave France, asking in return that the blockade of the rivers of the North Sea should be discontinued.¹ This attitude of the Prussian monarch still further strengthened the English Government in their determination, and their envoy was instructed "to insist upon the evacuation of Germany by the French troops as a *sine qua non* condition of our concluding peace."² The original principle on which the Government consented to treat, namely, the *uti possidetis* all over the world except Hanover, was to be still adhered to; but as Buenos Ayres had been acquired since the negotiations commenced, that place would be retained also, if France determined to take advantage of the changes in her favour which had happened during the same period. Napoleon and Talleyrand were, however, by no means prepared to come to terms, and in October the overtures ceased. Still, it is doubtful if the Emperor either desired war or expected it, for he hoped and thought that England and Russia would yield to his demand to annex Sicily in return for Hanover and a few colonies. Napoleon had not only failed in his object, but he had disgusted the Czar by bouncing a treaty out of his incompetent envoy, had angered Prussia by promising Hanover to England, and had alienated those in the British Government who might have been prepared to give concessions for the sake of peace by his method of diplomacy.

¹ F. O. Records, France, 74. To Lauderdale, Sept. 23, 1806.

² *Ibid.*

Another force, however, stronger by far than the feelings of kings and diplomatists, was driving the Continent once more to war. Throughout Prussia a fierce patriotism was smouldering, which only required a touch to kindle into a blazing flame. This was given by Napoleon, who ordered that a bookseller named Palm should be executed for selling an anonymous pamphlet, entitled "Germany in her Deep Humiliation," a by no means revolutionary production. Frederick William having already determined to assume a firm attitude, was now supported by his country's hatred of the oppressor. Unfortunately, when Napoleon's arrangements were complete, Prussia was not ready, nor was England prepared with aid, and Frederick William fell before the seasoned troops of the Emperor as wheat before a sickle. Prince Louis Ferdinand of Prussia was defeated and killed at Saalfeld on October 10th, and four days later the Prussian army, under Hohenlohe, was driven headlong at Jena by Napoleon himself. On the same day, Frederick William and Brunswick approached from Auerstadt, and their vanguard of horsemen, under Blucher, met the French infantry. Blucher ordered a charge, which failed. Again and again the sabres met the bayonets, but the shorter weapon prevailed, and soon the two Prussian armies were in full retreat. These two battles were followed by a shameful surrender of fortresses, and on October 25th the capital itself fell into the hands of General Davoust. Napoleon, as usual, had been too quick for the allies. Unrestrained by the bonds of routine diplomacy, unfettered by the necessity of arranging for combined action, he merely ordered and acted. As Emperor he declared war, and as Commander-in-Chief he led his army into the field. He had no one to conciliate, for he dragged his allies in his train, and forced them to fight. Far different was it with England, Russia, and Prussia. First, a general understanding had to be arranged, then treaties of alliance, then loans, then armies raised and commanders appointed. Before the first stage was accomplished the war was over. The Czar had no plan ready, and when Lord Morpeth was sent to arrange an alliance with Prussia, he only arrived in time to meet the crowd of fugitives from Jena. Encouraged by his success, the

1806.
October.

1806.
Novem-
ber.

Emperor now demanded that the Prussian troops should retire beyond the Vistula, and surrender every fortress that they still retained except Königsberg. The King, timorous though he was and supported only by a weak Cabinet, nevertheless refused such terms, and decided to continue the war.

Napoleon, although occupied in Berlin, had his thoughts ever directed against his chief enemy, and now devised a simple plan of commercial warfare which he hoped would bring England to her knees. With but little knowledge of political economy, he thought that the wealth of a country varied with the amount of bullion, and that if he could prevent England selling her merchandise to the Continent, the English would speedily be reduced to beggary. It was not part of the plan to starve the people into submission, but rather to encourage the importation of food-stuffs from the Continent, so that the country should buy much and sell nothing, and thus be speedily denuded of gold. He therefore published a decree on November 21st prohibiting the inhabitants of the entire territory conquered by or allied with France from carrying on any commerce with England, and then closed all the ports against British ships. In this action he was at first supported by the French people, who were firmly wedded to prohibition, but soon the arbitrary interference with trading in the necessities of life and the seizure and destruction of British and colonial merchandise began to bear heavily on the peaceful tradesmen of France and Germany.

Before the signing of the Berlin Decrees the Government had decided to throw themselves heartily into the contest, and had sent Lord Hutchinson to the headquarters of the Prussian army on November 20th for the purpose of concluding a treaty of peace and alliance with Frederick William. The King had already opened the rivers from which the British flag had been so long excluded, but had refused full satisfaction in regard to Hanover. Hutchinson therefore was instructed to obtain that country first or to break off the overture and then to demand that in return for concert with England no new negotiation should be entered into with France without the full knowledge of the British Government. If this were arranged satisfactorily he was

next to require a full description of the strength and position of the Prussian army and then he could "give the most cordial assurance of the utmost support which his Majesty, after paying a due regard to the various calls upon him, may be enabled to give."¹ These instructions are important, for they show that the Grenville Ministry was determined if possible to prevent Prussia being crushed by Napoleon and also to recover Hanover at once. Unfortunately they were not prompt enough in giving either financial or military aid to their allies. The Russian generals on the other hand seemed indifferent to the fate of Prussia, and were more inclined to protect their own frontiers than to carry on a distant campaign with a weak and already beaten ally. At the end of the year, therefore, when the French crossed the Vistula the armies of France and Russia faced each other in the neighbourhood of Pultusk, where Napoleon ordered his troops into winter quarters. In the meantime the navy of Great Britain had been harassing the fleets and merchant ships of the enemy on every possible occasion. The French ports had also been blockaded, but a fleet had escaped from Brest on December 13, 1805, consisting of fifteen ships of the line and ten other vessels. Of these, part sailed for Saint Domingo and disembarked there a body of troops and a supply of ammunition. A fortnight afterwards they were discovered by Sir John Duckworth, who gave chase and overtook them as they endeavoured to escape. An action ensued, when the greatly superior French fleet was badly beaten, three battleships being captured and two more driven on shore and burned. Trouble was now brewing on the other side of the Atlantic. For some time the United States had complained that Great Britain had violated their neutral rights by seizing and condemning their merchantmen although engaged in lawful commerce, and by impressing native American seamen found on their merchant ships upon the high seas on the pretext that they were Englishmen. The Government answered that no State could exclude a belligerent from the right of searching neutral merchant ships for contraband of war or for the persons and property of enemies,

1806.
November.

¹ F. O. Records, Prussia, 74, November 20, 1806.

1806.
Novem-
ber.

nor could a neutral refuse to give up the subjects of the belligerent who had withdrawn from their lawful allegiance. Stories were now spread in the United States that thousands of Americans had been forced to serve in the British navy, and that many American ships had been compelled to put into the nearest ports for more seamen. The reasonable explanation of the British Government was not accepted, and the excitement became so great that a Bill was brought into Congress. This was fortunately rejected by the Senate, for the violence which it authorised must have occasioned hostilities with England at once. Instead it was determined to send a mission to England for the adjustment of the differences between the nations. Mr. Monroe and Mr. Pinkney on behalf of the United States, and Lord Holland and Lord Auckland on the part of Great Britain, therefore met and held several conferences in London. A treaty was arranged, which however was not ratified by the President of the United States. Good work was nevertheless done, for although the custom of impressing on the high seas was continued, the laws regarding trade with neutrals were placed upon a sound working basis.

Meanwhile the British navy was actively engaged in retaking the colonies given up at the peace. In the autumn of 1805 a small squadron consisting of four gunships, four frigates and sloops under the orders of Commodore Sir Home Popham, with a fleet of transports carrying 5000 troops commanded by Major-General Sir Daniel Baird, were despatched for the purpose of reducing the Cape of Good Hope. The greatest secrecy was observed, for it was very important to disembark before any of the French squadrons known to be at sea could arrive with reinforcements. Consequently, immediately on the arrival of the force on January 5th, it was decided to land at Saldanna Bay, in spite of the difficulty which the army would experience in advancing. By the morning of the 7th all the troops were landed, and next day the British army moved along the road leading to Cape Town. The force cheerfully advanced to the summit of the Blue Mountain, where was discovered the Dutch main army consisting of 5000 men, chiefly cavalry, with 23 guns. After a short encounter these retired and left a free passage

for General Baird to the Salt River. The Dutch, indeed, had no intention of fighting, and soon sent a flag of truce from the town. On the 10th articles of capitulation were signed by Colonel Van-Prophalow on the part of the Dutch, and by the Commodore and General for England. Thus for the second time Cape Town and its dependencies fell into the hands of the British.¹ This easy success caused Sir Home Popham to attempt greater things, for hearing from an American skipper that the inhabitants of Monte Video and Buenos Ayres were "so ridden by their Government" that they would offer no resistance to a British army, he planned an expedition against those places. Taking about 450 seamen and marines and twice as many soldiers he left the Cape, and after a stormy voyage arrived on June 25th at a point twelve miles from Buenos Ayres. No opposition was offered to the landing, but next morning a body of Spaniards estimated at 2000 men were discovered, attacked and driven from their position on the brow of a hill two miles from the beach. Hastening on, the town was reached on the following day and capitulated on July 2nd, when the Viceroy and his troops fled to Cordova. The Spaniards, however, soon discovered the small size of the force which had captured their town and its treasures and recovered from their panic. They then organised an insurrection, and on August 12th overcame their conquerors. Commodore Popham with the squadron could do no more than remain at anchor and blockade the port until October when reinforcements arrived. He then prepared to attack Monte Video, but found that the water was so shallow that the ships could not approach near enough to batter the walls with effect. He therefore retired and sailed for Goretti, which immediately surrendered on the arrival of the fleet.

1807.
January.

¹ James' "Naval History," vol. iv. p. 274.

CHAPTER XXII

The Commercial warfare—Its result—Frederick William and Stein—Treaty with Prussia—Convention with Sweden, Russia, and Prussia—Battle of Eylau—Grenville's Government act tardily—Clause in Mutiny Bill in favour of Roman Catholics—The King resists and afterwards yields the point—The Government bring in a new Bill—The Ministry of "all the talents" retire—The Duke of Portland's Administration—General Election—Irish Insurrection Bill—Napoleon crushes Prussia, and enters Königsberg—Peace of Tilsit—News sent to Canning, who orders the Fleet to Copenhagen—Danes refuse to accept terms—Bombardment of Copenhagen—Expeditions to the Dardanelles and Alexandria—Portugal and Spain—The Continental system.

1807.
January. THE regulation of commerce between nations at war and neutrals has always agitated statesmen. As a rule the weak sea powers have combined against the strongest, Great Britain. Napoleon did not trouble to consult the laws framed by international jurists, and determined to submit the question to the arbitration of the sword. He had therefore forced the Court of Berlin, in February 1806, to close the neutral ports of North Germany to British ships. The Government took up the challenge and declared, by Order of Council in May, that the whole coast between Brest and Elbe was in a state of blockade. Napoleon replied with the Berlin Decree of November, which prohibited commerce between England and France and all her allies.

On January 7, 1807, the British again retaliated by issuing an Order, which forbade neutrals trading between the ports of France and her allies, and between ports which obeyed the Berlin Decree. Any ship which was captured while attempting to evade this order was confiscated, with the whole of the cargo.* The next move was made by Napoleon, who ordered the seizure of all British and colonial produce in the Hanse towns. England in turn then imposed a strict blockade on the coasts of Germany. Both Governments had now completely ignored the terms of the compromise of 1802. The usual result of attempting to suppress trade followed. An enormous army of smugglers

arose on the Continent and in England, with whom the customs officials were powerless to deal. 1807.
January.

Still the Powers which were waging this relentless commercial warfare were probably the least affected themselves. England protected her commerce with her fleets, and France was accustomed to rely largely upon her own resources. The brunt of the contest was therefore borne chiefly by the neutrals, and of these the German people were most keenly affected, for prices rose so rapidly on the Continent that much suffering was caused. Prussia, as usual, fated to be the buffer between the Powers, felt the blows of both, and was now in a most desperate and critical condition. Crushed by Napoleon's troops, and half ruined by the commercial strife, both people and statesmen now clamoured for reform of the Constitution.

The Ministers had long objected to the system whereby the Secretaries of Council, who were neither Ministers nor heads of departments, usurped the function of Government. They therefore entered a protest in writing, and the King, to appease them, appointed a council of three, of whom Stein was Minister of Internal and Financial Affairs, Rüchel was Minister for War, and Zastrow conducted Foreign Affairs, while Councillor Beyne was also added to the new Cabinet. Stein, although willing to remain a Minister, refused this new appointment, whereupon the King wrote him such a harsh letter that he resigned on January 4, 1807.¹ Prussia now lost the services of her two most able statesmen, Stein and Hardenberg, for some months, when the latter returned to his post as First Minister, with control of Foreign Affairs. The mission of Lord Hutchinson was, however, a success, in spite of the ministerial difficulty, and a treaty between England and Prussia was signed on January 28th.² Hanover was to be restored, and if the events of war necessitated its reoccupation by Prussian troops, the King was merely to take possession in the name of His Britannic Majesty. The ancient Government was to be immediately re-established there, and liberty of navigation and commerce restored throughout Prussia. The English flag was no longer to be

¹ "Life and Times of Stein." J. R. Seeley, M.A.

² F. O. Records, Prussia, 74.

1807.
January.

excluded from the rivers Ems, Weber, and Elbe, and the two Powers agreed to act in concert against Napoleon.¹ Lord Hutchinson, indeed, found the Court of Berlin prepared to negotiate in a perfectly genuine and straightforward manner, and was convinced that Hardenberg was a man "of most perfect honour and integrity," and that Prussia would scrupulously adhere to any engagements she might make with Russia and England.² A few weeks later Sweden joined the allies, and the Treaty of Bartenstein was signed on April 26th. This bound England, Russia, Prussia, and Sweden to employ all their armies against the common enemy, and to continue the war with vigour.

Meanwhile Napoleon was not idle. His methods of diplomacy were always simple, but being original, frequently succeeded in baffling statesmen who practised in the ordinary manner. They usually took one of two forms. He either attempted to pit nations against each other or peoples against their Governments, and then if successful, stepped in as arbitrator. The latter method had proved so successful in Italy that he decided to adopt it in Poland, which was once more destined to be the shuttlecock of the Powers. He exhorted the Poles to strike for independence, hoping that they would enlist under his banner and thus give him an unhampered theatre of warfare for his armies. Austria was nervously preparing to protect her slice of Poland³ when Napoleon promised he would prevent any rising there, and even gave a vague pledge to the Court of Vienna that he would restore Silesia to the Hapsburgs.³

It is outside the scope of this work to describe the campaign which followed. A bloody battle was fought between the French and Russians at Eylau on February 8th, and neither could claim a victory. Napoleon, although checked, proceeded to reduce the Prussian fortresses which had not yet fallen, and Dantzic and Colberg were forced to surrender after a long and gallant resistance. Still there

¹ Napoleon endeavoured to make peace with Prussia in February, and offered to restore the states east of the Elbe, but the Court of Berlin remained firm.

² F. O. Records, Prussia, 74.

³ "Life of Napoleon I.," Holland Rose, vol. ii. p. 3.

was time to turn the scale if the British Government had acted promptly. 1807.
January.

Unfortunately the effort of arranging a satisfactory treaty with their allies and answering Napoleon's commercial challenge seems to have exhausted the Grenville Ministry. They neither fulfilled their part of the treaty by aiding Prussia nor sent financial help to the allies quickly enough, and neglected to avail themselves of the excellent opportunity to send a force to the Baltic and thus threaten Napoleon's communications.

Instead of pursuing the active policy of Pitt they remained passive; instead of raising coalitions of Governments against Napoleon, they waited until other countries had taken the initiative and then gave assistance, but so tardily that it was of little use. They seemed indeed to fight, not to defeat Napoleon, but because he would not permit them to remain at peace, and now that Fox was dead they had no leader and possessed little military judgment. The Ministry of "all the talents" had proved itself to be a very feeble one, and it was obvious it could not last long. Before their mismanagement of foreign affairs could cause their fall, however, they tripped upon the old bone of contention with the King—the Catholic question.

It would have been wiser to have benefited by the experience of Pitt and Fox and have left this question carefully alone, for it was apparent that the King attached such a meaning to his coronation oath, that he could never be brought to consent to a comprehensive measure of relief, and anything short of this was of doubtful utility. Grenville's Government, however, considered rightly that it was an anomaly to admit Roman Catholic subjects in Ireland into the army as officers and allow them to rise as high as colonels while this right was denied to those of a similar religion in England. The Cabinet therefore proposed to insert a clause in the Mutiny Bill extending the privileges enjoyed by Catholic officers in Ireland to those serving in England and Scotland. The King at once pricked up his ears in alarm and wrote to Earl Spencer: "On this question a line has been drawn from which he cannot depart, nor can Earl Spencer be surprised that such should be his

1807.
February.

Majesty's feelings, as he cannot have forgotten what occurred when the subject was brought forward some years ago."¹

Still he decided to give in on this point, and wrote to Lord Grenville two days later as follows: "While, however, the King so far reluctantly concedes, he considers it necessary to declare that he cannot go one step further; and he trusts that this proof of his forbearance will secure him from being at a future period distressed by any further proposal connected with this question."²

Although this was clear enough, the Ministers at once proposed, by a formal minute in Cabinet which was submitted to the King, to give all his subjects of whatever persuasion the privilege of serving in his army or navy, with no condition attached whatever except that of taking an oath of allegiance. Provisions to this effect were therefore embodied in a Bill which on March 3rd was laid before the King, unaccompanied by any explanation. As this was returned with no comment, some of the Cabinet, including Grenville and Howick, thought the King agreed to its clauses. Still the Ministry was by no means unanimous, for Lord Sidmouth now became alarmed and declared that he would not only oppose the Bill in its progress through Parliament, but would demand an audience of the King to warn him of the perils to Church and State which were impending.³ Lord Howick also waited upon the King immediately afterwards, and found him in a state of great agitation and concern at the uncandid manner in which he considered he had been treated, for it appears he had not read the Bill and was unaware of the Government proposals. Unfortunately Lord Howick did not discover this at the interview, and merely gained the impression that his Majesty, although very annoyed, had yielded the point. He therefore introduced his Bill in the House of Commons on the following day, March 5th.⁴ In a moderate speech he commented upon the beneficial effects of the Irish Act and the absence of any inconvenience from it, and hoped

¹ Lord Holland's "Memoirs of the Whig Party," vol. ii. p. 286.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 293-294. Appendix.

³ "Life of Lord Sidmouth," vol. ii. p. 459.

⁴ "Parliamentary Debates," vol. ix. pp. 2-5.

it would be adopted. Mr. Perceval attacked the measure, as he felt it his bounden duty to oppose the principle upon which it was founded. He argued that no inconvenience was caused to Catholic officers who obtained a commission in Ireland and were called upon to exercise their military duties in Great Britain. He commented upon the dangers which must arise if there were no distinctions between Catholics and Protestants, and hinted that the principle of equality, once established, might even be extended ultimately to the occupant of the throne. The Bill was then read for the first time. The King a day or two afterwards told Lord Grenville that he had never consented, and never would consent to the measure. Still he gave no hint of his intentions until March 11th, when he had an interview with his Ministers at Buckingham House and explained his sentiments to them in unequivocal language. The Cabinet therefore dropped the Bill, but at their meeting on the 15th placed a Minute on record to the effect that they retained their former convictions, and would openly avow them both on the present occasion and in the possible event of the discussion of the Catholic petition in Parliament.¹ The King was much upset at this and demanded from his Ministers a positive assurance which would relieve him from all future apprehension that the question should ever be raised again. The Cabinet found it impossible to give this, and Lord Grenville formally resigned on March 18th. 1807. March.

On the 19th of March Lords Hawkesbury and Eldon were sent for by the King at Windsor, and requested to state to the Duke of Portland that it was his pleasure he should endeavour to form a new Administration immediately. No restrictions were set on the Duke except that Lord Westmoreland should have a place. The King, however, hinted that Lord Chatham ought to be consulted. Eventually the Duke became Premier and First Lord; Mr. Perceval, Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the House of Commons; Canning, Foreign Secretary; Lord Hawkesbury, Home Secretary; Lord Castlereagh, Secretary for War; Lord Mulgrave, First Lord of the Admiralty; and Lord Eldon, Lord Chancellor.

¹ Lord Holland's "Memoirs," vol. ii. p. 314. Appendix.

1807.
March.

Lord Westmoreland became Lord Privy Seal, and Lord Chatham, Master-General of the Ordnance. Although the King parted with his late Ministers affably, probably the only one he genuinely regretted losing was Lord Sidmouth, and he was much relieved that the dreaded Catholic question was once more postponed. Nor did the House of Commons support Mr. Lyttleton's resolution that it "has seen with the deepest regret the late change in his Majesty's councils," and passed to the order of the day by a majority of 46.¹

The King, having acted, now thought he would like to consult his people "while the events which have recently taken place are yet fresh in their recollection,"² and Parliament was prorogued on April 27th. The election was fought on the "No Popery" cry, and resulted in such a large majority for Ministers that Mr. Whitbread's motion for a Committee to inquire into the state of the nation—the usual mode of moving a vote of censure at this period—was defeated on July 6th by 186. The powerful cry of "No Popery" had done its duty on the hustings, and the Government could now afford to deal liberally with the Irish Catholics, so the grant to Maynooth was raised to £13,000 annually, which was £5000 more than the original sum intended. The most urgent work for the new Ministry was, however, the raising of military forces, and Lord Castlereagh brought up and carried a measure by which 38,000 militia were drafted into the regular army, while supplementary militia took their place.

An Irish Insurrection Bill was passed in the autumn which revived most of the measures of the Bill of 1796. Unlawful assemblies were stopped, and the Lord-Lieutenant enabled to proclaim any county on a report of the magistrates. In order, however, to prevent hardships the Bill required that persons arrested for being out of their dwellings at night time should be tried at the quarter sessions by the magistrates, assisted by a King's Counsel. Mr. Grattan stated that "he did not mean to accuse his countrymen of treason or disaffection, but he was certain that there was a French party in Ireland; it was against them and not against

¹ "Parliamentary Debates," vol. ix. p. 432.

² King's Speech, April 27, 1807.

Irishmen that the operation of the Bill was directed; and sooner than run a risk of losing the Constitution altogether he would take upon himself his full share, in common with his Majesty's Ministers, of the responsibility which would attach to the measure."¹ The Irish followed their leader, and only nine members voted against the Bill. 1807 July.

The new Act merely modified the existing law, which was based on the Act of 1796. It was however necessary, for although Ireland as a whole was peaceful, there had been disturbances in the west, and a party still existed in favour of France. The grievances of the Catholics were a constant cause of discontent; landlords abroad and tenants at home could not learn to know and understand each other, and the injustice of the tithe rankled perpetually in the heart of the Irish peasant. Tithe had been the cause of the Right Boy, the White Boy, and the Hearts of Steel insurrections, and was a strong factor during the rebellion. Apart from this no strong religious feeling had been evinced since the Act of Union, and the country was consequently peaceful and comparatively prosperous. The Irish members in the House of Commons were led in debate by Grattan, who always spoke in a quiet and dignified manner, and supported each Government in its efforts against the common enemy, France. He was in favour of the Bill which drove the late Ministry from power, and was grateful to them for the many measures which they passed to benefit the Irish. Legislation for Ireland was indeed already engaging a considerable portion of the time of the Imperial Parliament, and Grattan merely did the late Government justice when he stated after the Lord Commissioner's speech: "In Ireland I think their administration good; the opening the ports for Irish corn; the taking off the house-tax from the lower orders; the discontinuance of the Martial Law Bill; the commission for inquiring into the education funds with a view to establish a foundation for the general education of the Irish, and restoring to their proper use the funds granted for that purpose; the adoption of the principle of abolishing tithes and paying the clergy in another manner, a measure more german to the interest and composure of Ireland than any other con-

¹ "Parliamentary Debates," vol. ix. p. 971.

1807. ceivable suggestion.”¹ Grattan felt the greatest contempt
 July. for those who used the “No Popery” cry in the late election, and thought the sense of the Protestants of Dublin was against it, in spite of the fact that the Corporation had presented an address to the King against the Catholic claims.

The new Government slowly and cautiously followed in the footsteps of the Powers who had combined against Napoleon. A force of 20,000 men was ordered to Stralsund to help the King of Sweden, and arrived after the war was over. Napoleon, on the other hand, hurried up French troops from central Germany and levies of Bavarians and Saxons, while at the same time he negotiated successfully with the Sultan and the Shah of Persia. His activity was soon to bear fruit, for after Dantzic had surrendered, on May 24th, Neisse in Silesia also speedily capitulated. The Russian general Bennigsen was next beaten at Friedland on June 14th, and the French reached Königsberg. Five days later an armistice was arranged, and Alexander, disgusted with the Austrian Court for remaining neutral and disappointed with England, arranged to meet Napoleon and ask his terms. The ancient monarchies, with their ponderous methods of diplomacy, had proved to be no match for the soldier Emperor, whose decisions were rapidly formed, and carried out often before the allied Courts had concluded the preliminary stages of their negotiations. Still, all the Powers had attempted some action except Austria, which remained content to offer its services as a mediator between the enemies. England received the offer with fervour, Prussia with disgust, and Russia refused it with anger. Preparations for the meeting of the conqueror and conquered were hurried on, and on June 25th Napoleon and Alexander, surrounded by the theatrical paraphernalia which delighted both, met on a raft moored for the purpose in the river-Niemen. What passed at the first interview is not known, as the two were absolutely alone. It can, however, be inferred from the course of events that Alexander speedily fell beneath the peculiar personal spell of Napoleon and agreed to everything he asked. Next day Frederick William was admitted to the conference, and the suave manner of the conqueror changed

¹ Grattan's "Speeches," vol. iv. p. 110.

to a cold and threatening hauteur. The King was bidden to dismiss Hardenberg, because he had English sympathies, and Napoleon, determined that Stein should be chosen instead, would listen to no protestations. Hardenberg, finding that Napoleon refused to negotiate through him, resigned on July 4th, and on his suggestion Stein was recalled and appointed Minister for Home Affairs on October 5th.¹ The Czar had proved to be an easy victim to Napoleon's art of cajolery and flattery, not so the leading men of Russia, who thought their Emperor had disgraced his country.² It was, indeed, a case of the spider and the fly, where the fly was not consumed himself at once, but was invited to feast off his brethren in affliction. First Turkey, Sweden, and Poland were to be carved up to the mutual satisfaction of the new friends. Frederick William, powerless, gazed sadly at the vivisection which was proceeding, while the English Minister could do nothing but write contemptuous descriptions of the want of dignity of the Czar, and of his bad faith towards England.³ On July 7th the Treaty of Tilsit was signed. The public articles were of little interest to England, and consisted of arrangements whereby Prussia lost the whole of her territory west of the Elbe. These were duly reported by Leweson-Gower, who also formed some idea of the secret clauses which were of far greater importance.⁴ These were kept separate from the Treaty of Peace, in the form of a distinct Treaty of Alliance between the Emperors. In the event of England refusing the terms of peace proposed by Alexander, he was to receive Finland and the Danubian provinces. In return he agreed to unite his arms with those of France, and endeavour to

1807.
July.

¹ "Life and Times of Stein." J. R. Seeley, M.A.

² Leweson-Gower wrote on July 2nd: "Prince Czartoryski, Count Stroganoff, and M^r Novosilzow have abstained from approaching the scene of the negotiations, and seem anxious to clear themselves of the disgrace which attaches to the recent transactions at Tilsit." F. O. Records, Russia, 69.

³ "I have no doubt that peace will be the result of the negotiations, for let the conditions demanded by Bonaparte be ever so preposterous, the Emperor will not venture again to draw the sword." F. O. Records, Russia, 69. From Leweson-Gower, July 2, 1807.

⁴ "Treaty kept very secret, and conducted between Bonaparte and Alexander. Little doubt that spoliation of Turkey forms part of design, and closure of Russian and Prussian ports against British ships." July 12. Ibid.

1807. force the neutral powers of Denmark and Portugal to use
 July. their ships against the British. If the Porte objected to the loss of Moldavia and Wallachia, Napoleon was to help Russia liberate all the European territory subject to the Sultan, with the exception of Constantinople and Roumelia. Some of these ideas were reported by Leweson-Gower,¹ but it is only quite lately that the full text of the treaty has been made public. In the secret alliance it was agreed to wage war conjointly against any European power. If England did not accept the Czar's overture, and both recognise the equality of all flags at sea and restore the conquests made from France and her allies since 1805, then Russia would make war on her. In that case the new allies would summon the three Courts of Copenhagen, Stockholm, and Lisbon to close their ports against the English and declare war against England. If any one of the three Courts refused, it should be treated as an enemy by the high contracting Powers, and if Sweden refused, Denmark should be compelled to make war on her. England should be permitted to recover Hanover if she gave up her conquests and made peace. Although the full text of the treaty was not known, the purport of it was reported by a messenger who arrived at Downing Street direct from Tilsit. It was the English agent, Mr. Mackenzie, who was on confidential terms with General Bennigsen, and his news decided the Government to anticipate the designs of the Emperors upon Denmark.² Nevertheless there is evidence that Canning had decided to send the British fleet to Copenhagen before this news reached him.³ He did not hear of the plot of the Emperors indeed until July 21st, five days after he had written to the British Minister at Denmark that this was the intention of the Government. The despatch given below proves this,

¹ "It was strongly reported at Königsberg among the French that Bernadotte had received orders to march against Holstein, with the view of forcing the Court of Copenhagen to shut the passage of the Sound against the English." July 15. *Ibid.*

² See "Life of Napoleon I.," Holland Rose, vol. ii. p. 140.

³ Mr. Brook Taylor was instructed to inform the Danish Government that the present state of the Baltic powers and his Majesty's relations with the King of Sweden occasions the presence of the British fleet at Copenhagen. F. O. Records, Denmark, 53. Canning to Brook Taylor, July 16, 1807.

and is also important as showing that the suggestion of a maritime league against England was made at the very first interview, when Alexander was still undecided.¹ Any measures suggested by Napoleon would in course of time be submitted to the Russian Ministers, but it is curious that Alexander confided at once in his general, Bennigsen, and still more remarkable that he should have handed the information straight to the British agent. The action of the British Government was now as prompt as before it had been tardy. It was indeed evident that some strong step must be taken, for if the confederacy of the French, Dutch, Swedish, Danish, and Russian fleets was arranged, there would be sixty sail of the line in the North and Baltic Seas opposed to our fleet.² 1807. July.

Mr. Brook Taylor was therefore instructed to ask the Danish Ministers if the proposal for a maritime league had been made, and if so, if it had been rejected.³ He replied on August 3rd as follows: "M. de Bernstoff says that he would not hesitate to declare to me positively that no such proposition had been made to Denmark by France or by any other Power, and that he could moreover assure me that this was the first time that this report had been mentioned to him." He continued, however, that communications with Count Bernstoff are never considered official unless especially authorised by His Royal Highness, and added significantly that His Royal Highness was not present at the interview.⁴ The English Government did not wait for this reply, but despatched a fleet, under Admiral Gambier, with 20,000 men, on July 26th. Still they laboured to keep the peace with Denmark, and endeavoured to arrange a treaty between that Court and England, by which it should be stipulated

* "Intelligence reached me yesterday directly from Tilsit, that at an interview which took place between the Emperor of Russia and Bonaparte on the 24th or 25th of last month, the latter brought forward a proposal for a maritime league against Great Britain, to which the accession of Denmark was represented by Bonaparte to be as certain as it was essential. Russia has neither accepted nor refused this proposal." *Ibid.*, July 22, 1807.

² James' "Naval History," vol. iv. p. 284.

³ F. O. Records, Denmark, 53. To Brook Taylor, July 22, 1807.

⁴ *Ibid.* From Brook Taylor, August 3, 1807. It seems clear from Napoleon's Correspondence that Denmark had given him some hope that she would close the Baltic against England.

1807.
August.

that the latter should find 11,000 infantry and 3000 cavalry within two months, which were to be fed and grazed by the Danish Government; that the Danish fleet should be placed under the orders of the Commander-in-Chief of the English fleet in the Baltic, and remain in the custody of His Britannic Majesty until the conclusion of a peace between France and England, and that a subsidy of £100,000 should be paid for the fleet. The British Government would then agree not to treat for peace except on the terms that Denmark should have restored to her all her territories, towns, and places which she had at the commencement of the war. These terms were refused, and the British Minister left Copenhagen and went on board Admiral Gambier's ship. This officer had left England with seventeen ships of the line and twenty-one frigates, sloops, bomb-vessels, and gun-brigs, but had since been joined by the transports and ships from Rügen, under Lord Cathcart, and some others from England, which made up the number to twenty-five sail of the line and more than forty frigates and other vessels. On August 12th the Danish frigate *Frederickscoarn*, which was at anchor, slipped her cable and steered for Norway, and although no declaration of war had been made, the *Comus* was sent in pursuit. The Danish vessel was soon caught and ordered to surrender. The commander refused to do so, and a severe action ensued, when the *Frederickscoarn* was boarded and captured. Four days after this the whole fleet sailed towards Copenhagen, and a proclamation was issued in the German language explaining the object of the expedition. On the same day the King of Denmark, who had retired to Gluckstadt, issued a public order that all English vessels and property should be seized and detained. Preparations now began for an active siege. Guns and mortars were landed and mounted around the city, and on September 1st Gambier and Cathcart summoned Major-General Peiman to surrender the Danish fleet, promising that it should be held only as a deposit, and should be restored at a general peace. The Danish general promptly refused, and the bombardment was commenced the same evening and continued for four days. Soon a great sheet of flame swept over the city, and as it was impos-

sible to extinguish it, General Peiman asked for an armistice of twenty-four hours in order to arrange terms. This was refused, and an officer was sent by Lord Cathcart to explain that hostilities would not cease against the town until the Danish fleet was surrendered. Further resistance being useless, this was agreed to, and Major-General Sir Arthur Wellesley, Sir Home Popham, and Colonel George Murray were appointed to settle the details of the terms. They arranged that the British forces should occupy the citadel and dockyards for six weeks, and take possession of the Danish fleet.

1807.
September.

It is certain that this ending was not desired by Canning or the rest of the Government, who wished for an alliance, not a conquest. The bombardment itself was not approved in England, while the news of it was received both by Napoleon and Alexander with real or assumed indignation. Considering, however, the nature of the information sent from Tilsit, it is difficult to say what else could have been done, for it was obvious that if the two Emperors worked together and forced Denmark into an alliance, Sweden would be at their mercy, and British trade would be at once driven from the Baltic. It was also apparent that if Prussia were crushed, and Russia were allied to France, Napoleon would be able to employ all his forces against England, and arrange once more for an invasion of the country. It was therefore absolutely imperative to maintain the command of the sea at this date. The principle itself was good, but the manner of applying it very bad, for although the Danish fleet was secured, Denmark declared war against England, and both Sweden and the Czar broke off all communications on October 27th, and joined in the Continental system against British commerce.

It seems, indeed, that the Government at this period was ambitious either to possess or destroy all the fleets in the world. It was in the autumn of 1806 that it first became apparent Napoleon was using his influence in the East to embroil Turkey and Russia. Grenville's Government therefore decided to counteract this by sending a fleet to the Dardanelles. On October 22nd Vice-Admiral Lord Collingwood was directed to despatch three sail of the line from his

1807.
January.

fleet, which was cruising off Cadiz, in order to reconnoitre the situation of the forts of the Dardanelles, and Rear-Admiral Sir Thomas Jervis was chosen for this delicate errand. Russia had already threatened to withdraw her ambassador from Constantinople, and the Turks had reversed all the decrees which the French ambassador Sebastian had extorted from them. Confusion soon reigned in the city, and the British residents, fearful for their lives, left their homes early in January 1807, and went on board the *Endymion* frigate.

Meanwhile the Government had sent further orders to Lord Collingwood to detach a force to the Dardanelles under Sir John Duckworth, to be ready to take action against the Turks if necessary. The squadron was to proceed to the Straits of Constantinople, and there take up a position which would enable it to bombard the town in case the Turks refused to deliver up their fleet fully supplied with naval stores. On February 19th the squadron passed the Dardanelles under the fire of the forts, but did not sustain much damage. A short distance above the castle of Abydos, however, a Turkish squadron was discovered, which at once opened fire on the British ships. This was returned so effectually that in a few minutes all the Turkish vessels were driven ashore, except three which were captured. Some troops who had appeared on the hills were next dispersed with a few shells, and parties boarded the ships which had grounded, and destroyed them. After this satisfactory performance the fleet continued on its way to Constantinople, where it arrived on the 21st. Sir John Duckworth at once sent ashore a note, under a flag of truce, demanding the surrender of the Turkish fleet, and gave the Porte half-an-hour to decide. The messenger, however, was not permitted to land, and two days later the Admiral sent another ultimatum. The Turkish Ministers, supported by Sebastian, replied by putting the defences of the city in a good condition, and hastened to prepare the fleet. Sir John was baffled, threats were useless, and he was not in a position to do more. He therefore decided to retrace his steps, and on March 3rd repassed the Dardanelles under the fire of all the batteries which, being better served than on the upward

journey, occasioned more loss. The squadron then anchored off Cape Janisary in safety.¹ 1807. March.

The effect of this weak performance was to drive the Turks into the hands of the French, under whose influence they were persuaded to make peace with Russia, after that Power had declared against England. This failure was to a certain extent compensated by the capture of Alexandria by Major-General Mackenzie in March. The city was, however, abandoned in September, and the chief effect of this expedition also was to exasperate the Turks needlessly.

Immediately after the Treaty of Tilsit, the Regent of Portugal was required by Napoleon to declare war on England, to confiscate all British property in his dominions, and to close his ports to British vessels. The Regent in order to gain time nominally submitted to Napoleon's demands and consented to declare war on England; secretly, however, he determined to act on the advice of the British Government, and he openly refused to confiscate English property. This was sufficient excuse for Napoleon to order a French army under Junot to cross the frontier and march on Portugal. In order that the troops should not be molested on the way it was necessary for the time being to secure the friendship of Charles IV. of Spain, and he was therefore promised half the Portuguese colonies in return for Etruria. There were also other promises, which are of little interest since none of them were intended to be kept. Junot advanced rapidly, while the Court fled from Lisbon and sailed across the Atlantic. It was, however, soon apparent that Napoleon's aim was really against Spain, which was already bordering on a revolution owing to dissensions in the Court of Madrid. The Crown Prince Ferdinand was strongly opposed to his mother and her favourite the Minister Godoy, who was now inclined to join the allies against Napoleon. Ferdinand therefore allied himself with the French Ambassador. To complete the ring of intrigues, Godoy now persuaded the King that his son was plotting to dethrone him. King Charles, knowing nothing of Ferdinand's connection with the French, had him arrested, and wrote to Napoleon stating that he intended to exclude the Crown Prince from the throne, and

¹ James' "Naval History," vol. iv. p. 309.

1807.
Decem-
ber.

asking him to give "the aid of his lights and his counsel."¹ Napoleon cared neither for father nor son, but seized the excuse and prepared to enter Spain as the champion of Ferdinand. The object of his pretended solicitude, the Crown Prince, upset his plans, for overcome by fear he disclosed his negotiations with the French Ambassador and begged for forgiveness. This was granted, and Napoleon was obliged to content himself with ordering General Dupont to cross the frontier and advance as far as Vittoria.

Dupont was received with acclamation in the belief that he came to free the country from the rule of the hated Godoy, and 80,000 French were thus able to enter the country without exciting the suspicion of any except the enemies of Ferdinand, who became greatly alarmed. The King now wrote to Napoleon in friendly terms, but received a threatening letter in reply. This was followed by the circulation of several alarming reports of the Emperor's intentions, which it was hoped would cause the King to take flight from Madrid, for if he had done so it would have been easy for the Emperor to step in and fashion any government he pleased in Spain.

Meanwhile the Continental system was interfering with British trade, and further reprisals were therefore taken in November against the new Napoleonic states. It was ordered that any port whence the British flag was excluded would be considered in a state of blockade. The French had endeavoured to distinguish British from neutral goods by ordering the masters of ships to carry "certificates of origin" of their cargoes, and the English therefore decreed that any ship carrying such certificates should be a prize of war. Any neutral ship, however, which carried goods from a hostile port was permitted to land them in England, subject to the usual duties, and these might be re-exported to any friendly or neutral port. In order to stop this Napoleon issued the Milan Decrees of November and December, which declared that every neutral ship obeying these orders, or sailing to or from any port in England or its colonies or possessions, should be a prize of war. It was hardly to be expected that a neutral should play the part of

¹ "Life of Napoleon I.," Holland Rose, vol. ii. p. 62 *et seq.*

a passive spectator with the hand of a highwayman in each pocket, and the United States, still annoyed by the British custom of examining their ships, passed a Non-Intercourse Act in December. 1807.
Decem-
ber.

There is a humorous side even to commercial warfare, and this was afforded by an agent of Napoleon himself, who was obliged to buy 50,000 overcoats for the French army in England because he could not procure them elsewhere.

CHAPTER XXIII

Murat in Spain—King Charles abdicates in favour of Ferdinand—Murat at Madrid and Joseph Bonaparte placed on throne—National rising in Spain—Appeal to England promptly answered—Wellesley ordered to Portugal—Joins General Spencer and starts for Lisbon—British victory at Vimiero—Armistice and Convention—Court of Inquiry in England—Russia tries to save her ships—Reform in Prussia—Canning on Prussian affairs—Alexander and Napoleon meet at Erfurt—Letter to George III.—Canning's answer—Foreign policy of the King—Napoleon hastens to Spain—Sir John Moore placed in command of English army—Difficulties with the inhabitants—At Salamanca—Madrid capitulates—Retreat of Moore—Battle of Corunna.

1808.

February.

- EARLY** in the year Napoleon ordered Murat to take command of the French troops in Spain without explaining what was his political object. Murat therefore crossed the frontier on March 1st and took possession of San Sebastian, Pamploña, Figueras, and Barcelona. Napoleon still kept up a friendly correspondence with the King of Spain although he had invaded his country, and now proposed to hand over to him Portugal in exchange for Galicia, Biscay, and Navarre. Such behaviour seemed suspicious even to the dull-minded Charles, and the Queen now feared for the safety of her favourite Godoy. Preparations were therefore made to migrate to the Spanish-American colonies. Ferdinand seized his opportunity. Protesting against the desertion of the country by its monarch, he gave the hint, and the mob cursed and beat Godoy and sacked the palace, while the King, now terrified for his life, at once abdicated in favour of Ferdinand. Napoleon in reality did not intend to leave a Bourbon on the Spanish throne, and ordered Murat to occupy Madrid, ostensibly until the trouble in the country should be settled, while he himself proceeded to Bayonne, where the King, Queen, Ferdinand and Godoy joined him. Charles, imagining he would be supported by the Emperor, now plucked up courage and revoked his abdication. To his astonishment Napoleon at once threw

off the mask of the disinterested arbitrator, and both father and son realised that neither would be permitted to reign in Madrid. Ferdinand resisted for a few days, then withdrew his claim, and Joseph Bonaparte was placed upon the throne. Napoleon was now well satisfied with his work and felt secure in the Peninsular, for both Madrid and Lisbon were held by French troops, and Catalonia, Biscay, and Navarre were in the hands of his generals.

1808.
June.

The force destined to overthrow him was one which he, in common with numberless other rulers in the past, neither understood nor expected. Popular patriotism is a power which commanders of legions usually underrate, while statesmen are too prone to consider a country conquered when the capital and Government has formally surrendered. In this case, at the moment when the royal family were bowing the knee to the Emperor, the populace in town and country were hastily organising for resistance.

The provinces of Galicia and Asturias led the revolt under an elected Junta at Oviedo, while similar Juntas were established in nearly every province. These temporary Governments, realising the impossibility of a successful contest unaided against the armies of France, and estimating at its true value the professions of Napoleon, appealed at once to his inveterate enemy England for assistance. Two deputies journeyed to London from the northern Junta to ask for aid in money and arms, while Sir Hew Dalrymple, the governor of Gibraltar, was also appealed to by the Junta of Seville to co-operate in the national cause.

The English Government promptly decided to act with the Spanish patriots, and prepared to send an expedition to their aid. Mr. Stuart was at once sent to Corunna, and instructed to proceed to the provisional Junta of Galicia with the cheering intelligence that he had 200,000 dollars to lend them. At the same time he was to inquire into the military situation, and if the French armies advanced into the province he was advised to take refuge on board any of his Majesty's ships of war.¹

The whole of Spain was soon under arms. Solano, the governor of Cadiz, was slain as a traitor to the national cause

¹ Canning to Stuart, July 6. F. O. Records, Spain, 57.

1808. because he refused to attack the French squadron in the
July. harbour. De Morlu, the new governor, therefore opened fire on the ships, and the French admiral Rossilly, finding his position hopeless, surrendered on June 14th. At once a French corps under General Avril hastened to regain possession of Cadiz, and the national cause seemed to be in serious danger. Just in time, however, 5000 British under General Spencer arrived from Gibraltar in the harbour, and the French army thought it wisest to retire.

Great Britain thus found herself at one bound converted from an enemy into an ally of Spain. It had, indeed, been arranged to send an expedition against the Spanish colonies in America, and Sir Arthur Wellesley was all ready for embarking with 9000 troops at Cork, when he was ordered instead to sail for the coast of Portugal, and to co-operate with the nation he had expected to fight. He was not, however, destined for the chief command. Both Sir Hugh Dalrymple and Sir Harry Burrard, two comparatively unknown men, were placed over the heads both of Wellesley and Sir John Moore, who had recently returned from the Baltic and was also ordered to Portugal. The fleet sailed on July 12th, with orders to proceed to the Tagus, but Wellesley decided to call first at Corunna, where he arrived in the *Crocodile* on July 21st. Here he learnt that the whole of Spain, with the exception of Madrid and Biscay, were up in arms against the French, and that the latter under Marshal Bessi eres had won a great victory at Rio Seco on July 13th. This success had, however, been more than neutralised by the defeat of Dupont at Beylen on the 19th, when 18,000 French laid down their arms to General Castanos. The outlook was indeed so serious for the French that Joseph abandoned the capital and retired north of the Ebro, leaving Junot isolated in Lisbon, with the Spanish troops under his command in a state of mutiny. Insurrection had indeed become general throughout northern Portugal, but was not very formidable, as the forces were miserably armed and scattered in small bodies. A force of 1500 of the Portuguese insurgents were, however, at Oporto, and 5000 at Coimbra. After a consultation with Sir Charles Cotton, the British admiral, Wellesley decided that the

best point for landing would be Mondego Bay,¹ and orders were therefore sent to General Spencer at Cadiz to repair thither. 1808.
August.

Wellesley disembarked on August 1st with his own troops, which, being joined by General Spencer's corps, brought up his effective force to 14,000 British and 5000 Portuguese. With these he commenced his march on Lisbon. The French troops in Portugal numbered nearly 30,000 men. Junot was at Lisbon, and was forced to remain there. He therefore recalled Loison from the south of the Tagus and sent him forward to Abrantis, and posted Delaborde at Alcobaca to observe the movements of the British, and to join Loison at Leiria. Wellesley was, however, too quick for him, and arrived at Leiria on August 11th. Leaving the Portuguese commander-in-chief, Freire, to hold the place, he advanced rapidly southwards, along the road between the coast and the mountains, so that he could remain in touch with the fleet the whole time. General Delaborde fell back from Alcobaca on his approach, and on the 15th occurred the first skirmish with the enemy, who were easily dislodged from their position at Rolica. On the next day the British, with 13,480 infantry, 470 cavalry and 18 guns, marched forward to the attack in three columns. Delaborde, overpowered by superior numbers and outflanked, fell back slowly, fighting every yard of the way so persistently that the British lost 479 and the French about 600 men.

The army then continued its march, and on August the 20th reached Vimiero, where it was reinforced by Anstruther's and Acland's brigades, which numbered 5150 men in all. Next day Junot met the British in battle, and was severely beaten, with a loss of thirteen guns and several hundreds of men. Wellesley prepared to pursue, and the whole of Junot's army would in all probability have been captured, but, unfortunately, his superior officer, Sir Harry Burrard, who had taken no part in the fight, now assumed the command, and stopped the pursuit. On the next day Sir Hew Dalrymple appeared on the scene as commander-in-chief, and consented to suspend hostilities in order that

¹ "Wellington Supplementary Despatches," vol. vi.

1808.
August.

he might arrange with General Kellerman for the evacuation of Portugal by the French troops. The terms of the Convention, which was ratified on August 30th, were that Junot's force was to be conveyed by British ships to France. Wellesley strongly opposed the armistice, and suggested that it should be suspended, but Sir Hew would not listen to him, although he knew that Sir John Moore's corps had arrived, which increased the total British force in Portugal to 30,000 men. At the same time a separate agreement specified that the Russian fleet, blockaded in the Tagus, should be handed over to Great Britain, and held until six months after peace should be established.

The Convention was very unpopular in England, and both Dalrymple and Wellesley were freely blamed in the Press. A court of inquiry was demanded and ordered. Of the five members who heard the evidence, all approved of the armistice, but two objected to the Convention, and thought that the army ought to have advanced and secured better terms.¹ Although this finding was not very definite, neither Sir Hew Dalrymple nor Sir Harry Burrard were employed again by the Government.

The provinces, although all willing to act against the common enemy, were by no means united in opinion as to the means to be adopted, and this led to several serious disputes.² They were also anxious to co-operate with the British Government and destroy the power and prestige of France in South America,³ but their quarrels about precedence and the sharing of subsidies rendered it very difficult to arrange any satisfactory compacts. Some trouble was also occasioned by the Russians, who were by no means willing to give up their fleet without a struggle. Baron Strogonow, the Russian Minister at Madrid, endeavoured to persuade the British commanders to treat Lisbon as a neutral port, and even suggested that his Court should pretend to make peace in order to gain possession of the captured ships.⁴

¹ "Wellington Supplementary Despatches," vol. vi. p. 195.

² From Charles Stuart, Ferrol, July 28. F. O. Records, Spain, 57.

³ Ibid., Corunna, August. Ibid.

⁴ Ibid., September 22, 1808. F. O. Records, Spain, 58. "As he openly asserts the possibility of a simulated pacification for the mere purpose of

The naval policy of the Government seems to have been to possess themselves of the fleets of Europe by any and every means so as to leave England without a rival on the seas. The expeditions to Copenhagen and to the Dardanelles were undertaken with this object, and although both brought a good deal of odium on the Ministers, the Danish fleet had been captured. Now by the Convention the Russian fleet at Lisbon was also removed from active service. More important than this was the success of the British army in Portugal, for Napoleon at length learnt that England possessed troops who could fight, and at least one General who could lead them. He was also extremely annoyed to find the ports of Spain, Portugal, and South America open again to British commerce just at the time when he hoped that his Continental system was beginning to affect the wealth of England.

1808.
Septem-
ber.

The national pulse of Prussia was now throbbing with sympathetic excitement at the news of the success in Spain. Stein had commenced to reform the system of internal government. On October 9, 1807, the Emancipating Edict was signed which decreed that from October 8, 1810, personal serfdom should be abolished and free trade in land substituted. This meant that every person, whether noble, citizen or peasant, should be allowed to possess land and to choose his own occupation. The King was indeed now earnestly striving to better the condition of his people, and ordered Hardenberg to write a memoir "On the Reorganisation of the Prussian State."¹ In this plans are proposed to institute a limited monarchy. The times, however, were not propitious for any extensive reforms. It was necessary to shake off the national foe before dealing with the dissatisfied at home. Unfortunately the foreign policy of Frederick William lacked both strength and stability. He refused to be entangled in the meshes of the Confederation of the Rhine, and thought that in spite of Tilsit the goodwill of the Czar ought to be retained if possible. Still he hoped that a union with Austria and the

obtaining the restoration of the captured ships, I think it my duty to place his Majesty's Government on their guard."

¹ "Life and Times of Stein," J. R. Seeley, M.A., vol. i. p. 411.

1808.
August.

minor German powers, if helped financially by Great Britain, might yet save Europe from Napoleon. The burden upon Prussia was now very heavy. In October 1807 Napoleon demanded 120 millions of francs, and stated that he would hold Stettin, Glogau, and Kustrin and other towns with 40,000 men, at the expense of the State, until the sum was met. Stein negotiated with the Emperor's agent Daru for the payment of this preposterous sum, but kept a watchful and hopeful eye on the Spanish war, while the members of the military commission, Colonels Scharnhorst and Gneisenau, and Major Grohman, were improving the military system.

England watched with sympathetic interest, and Canning expressed himself very clearly in a letter "to a Prussian gentleman."¹ He stated that it was not the wish of England to stimulate the natives of the Continent to any effort of which they did not themselves feel all the importance, but pointed out that if Spain, which had not yet felt the yoke of the oppressor, could manifest so much national feeling, the nations who had undergone the yoke might derive a spirit more than equivalent from resentment and despair. He contended that England did not excite nations to fight against France because she feared that the ports of Europe would be closed to her, since that had already been tried and had disappointed the expectations of its contriver. It was indeed a matter of indifference to England if the ports of Prussia, for instance, were shut by Prussia or by France. He continues with these words pregnant with meaning: "The war in Spain is not a war of army against army, but of the whole nation against the armies of France. A war in the Prussian States to be attended with the same success must be conducted on the same principle. It is not by Treaties of Concert that a Prussian contingent is to be regulated, or by Treaties of Subsidy that its operations must be measured and sustained."² The whole foreign policy of Canning is indeed summed up in this letter. He was confident and hopeful that nations, not governments, would overwhelm Napoleon; and he was right. Another paper, headed

¹ F. O. Records, Prussia, 79. The letter is dated August 11th, but no name is attached.

² Ibid.

"Reflections of the Prussian Patriots," is also of extreme interest. "We Prussians who have already suffered subjugation with all its consequences can the better submit to every sacrifice because we have no longer much more to lose. But all measures which may be taken require as yet the greatest secrecy and cannot on the side of Prussia be undertaken but by private individuals in order that the Government may not by accidental circumstances be committed before the time, and the enterprise itself receive unpleasant and fatal hindrance."¹ This obviously refers to the national societies, and is intended to inform Canning of their existence and hopes.

1808.
August.

The French reverses in Spain now compelled Napoleon to withdraw his troops from beyond the Elbe. Still, with cool effrontery, he demanded even a larger sum from Prussia, and insisted both that the army should be limited to 40,000 men, and also that he should still hold three of the principal fortresses on the Oder. Stein and Scharnhorst urged the King to resist, and continued the organisation of a great national rising. Frederick William, however, hesitated.²

Meanwhile a jarring note had appeared in the Franco-Russian concert. Alexander was not altogether pleased with Napoleon's plans in the East,³ and it seemed necessary to use a little personal influence to keep him in line. A meeting was therefore arranged, and took place at Erfurt on September 27th, amidst a blaze of military splendour and pageantry. Napoleon fully realised the necessity to retain the friendship of the Czar at this time, for he had discovered Stein's plot to arouse the Prussian nation, and Austria was openly arming. Alexander was, however, by no means so tractable

¹ F. O. Records, Prussia, 79.

² From Mr. Alexander Gibson, Königsberg, September 21, 1808: "Firmness and decision is, I fear, not to be expected from the King. He is too good or too weak for his high and critical condition. This morning I was speaking with a person, much in confidence, if it might not be hoped that the circumstances in which the country was placed would produce an alteration in the character of the King, but this person too had little hope, except disturbances broke out in the country, when he might be electrified, and there being no room for wavering, might give in to the energetic measures of those who took the lead." F. O. Records, Prussia, 79.

³ "Life of Napoleon I.," Holland Rose, vol. ii. p. 175 *et seq.*

1808.
October.

as at Tilsit, and refused to join him in threatening Austria although he had no intention of interfering in Spain.¹

Prussia was not ready to act, and Count Goltz therefore submitted to the demands of Napoleon, and signed a treaty with him. A month later Stein retired from office. Before parting the two Emperors wrote a joint note to George III., requesting him to make peace.² This was sent by Count Nicolas de Romanoff, the Russian Ambassador at Paris, to Canning, with a covering letter, in which it was stated that Alexander and Napoleon were united, either for peace or war, but were willing to negotiate on the basis of the *Uti Possidetis*.³

This was the third overture for peace made direct by Napoleon to George III. There is, however, little doubt that, in spite of the apparent sincerity in the language of each, Napoleon did not really desire or expect peace on either occasion. Canning replied to Count Nicolas de Romanoff on October 28th. He stated that his Majesty would communicate to the King of the Swedes and to the

¹ "Life of Napoleon I.," Holland Rose, vol. ii. p. 182.

² The original is in the Records Office. It is composed in the usual style of all Napoleon's letters to the King :—

"SIRE,—Les circonstances actuelle des l'Europe nous ont réunis à Erfurt. Notre première pensée est de céder au voeu et aux besoins de tous les peuples et de chercher par une prompte pacification avec votre Majesté le remède le plus efficace aux malheurs qui pesent sur tous les nations. Nous en faisons connaître notre sincère désir à votre Majesté par cette présente lettre.

"La guerre longue et sanglante qui à déchiré le continent est terminée, sans qu'elle puisse se renouveler beaucoup de changements ont en lieu en Europe ; Beaucoup Etats ont été bouleverses. La cause en est Etat, d'agitation et de malheur on la cessation du commerce maritime a placé les plus grands peuples. De plus grands changements encore peuvent avoir lieu et tous contraires à la politique de la nation Anglaise. La paix est donc à la fois dans l'intérêt des peuples du Continent, comme dans l'intérêt des peuples de la Grande Bretagne.

"Nous nous réunissons pour prier votre Majesté d'écouter la voix de l'humanité en faisant taire celle des passions de chercher avec l'intention d'y parvenir à concilier tous les intérêts et par le garantir toutes les Puissances qui existent et assurer le bonheur de l'Europe et de cette générations à la tête de laquelle la Providence nous a placé.

"Erfurt le douze Octobre dixhuit cent huit,

"Signé,

"NAPOLEON.	ALEXANDRE.
"ALEXANDRE.	NAPOLEON."

³ F. O. Records, Russia, 74.

Spanish Government the proposition made to him, but that it was absolutely necessary to assume that France would recognise the Government of Spain as a party to any negotiation. His Majesty indeed had no doubt this was the intention of the Russian Emperor.¹ Count Nicolas de Romanoff replied on November 28th that Russia and France would consent to the admission of England's allies, but would not admit the Plenipotentiaries of the *Insurgés Espagnols*, and that since the Emperor had already recognised Joseph Bonaparte as King, he would only treat on the basis of the *Uti Possidetis*.² Canning answered that the King deeply regretted that the Emperor of Russia had committed himself "to acknowledge the right assumed by France to depose and imprison friendly Sovereigns," and deeply lamented a determination "by which the sufferings of Europe must be aggravated and prolonged."³

Napoleon's letters are all similar in language and spirit. The answers of George III. all show the same blunt, honest firmness. Whether written by Grenville, Mulgrave, or Canning, the same master mind evidently inspires them all. With all his faults George III. can never be accused of inconsistency. The influence wielded by the King over foreign policy was very great, for although he yielded when Pitt insisted upon negotiating for peace in 1797, as a rule it is clear his Secretaries of State for Foreign Affairs were affected by his wishes. His policy may not always have been wise, but throughout it was governed by those principles of statesmanship—firmness, constancy, honesty, and dogged determination—which have created the British Empire. The policy of Napoleon was the exact converse of this. His aims were continually changing as the need of the moment demanded; he allied himself first with one country, then with another, until each of the principal Powers, except England, had been both friend and enemy. The inevitable result was that, in time, all distrusted him, and all combined against him. For the moment, however, central Europe was

¹ Canning to Count Nicolas de Romanoff, October 28. F. O. Records, Russia, 74.

² Count Nicolas de Romanoff to Canning, November 28. Ibid.

³ Canning to Count Nicolas de Romanoff, December 9. Ibid.

1808.
Novem-
ber.

1808.
October.

secured by the negotiations at Erfurt, and Napoleon was enabled to devote his attention to Spain. He therefore crossed the Pyrenees for the first time in the beginning of November 1808.

The Spanish Juntas were still quarrelling among themselves, but had consented to form a Central Committee, which was to meet at Aranjuez and assume supreme authority. This proved an extremely bad form of government, for the Committee did not attempt to legislate or to organise the resources of the country, and continually disagreed with their own generals. Sir Charles Stuart was indeed constantly occupied in restoring some kind of order and in patching up the disputes between the Junta and the army.¹ He now suggested that the Committee should be recognised as a legitimate Government by other countries, and should combine with them in opposition to France. It was therefore arranged to send some "person possessing talents which will fit him for a secret mission" to Vienna to give that Court all possible information.²

Meanwhile the English Government was steadily pouring stores into the country, which either fell into the hands of the French or were stolen by the contractors, while the members of the Juntas voted themselves large salaries and allowed the army to go destitute. So great indeed was the confusion that on one occasion at least British troops were actually forbidden to land at Corunna until the Junta of Galicia received directions from the Central Government at Aranjuez. Stuart at once remonstrated sharply, and orders were speedily sent to permit the disembarkation.³ In the midst of this chaos Napoleon was hurrying up the veteran troops who had conquered at Austerlitz and Jena. He intended to add to them armies from Germany, Holland,

¹ "Sir Charles Stuart does not think he is too deeply embarked in the quarrel between General Cuesta and Mr. Waldez to endeavour to moderate the resentment of either, and hopes Cuesta will be persuaded patiently to submit to the judgment of the Junta." October 5, 1808. F. O. Records, Spain, 59.

² From Sir Charles Stuart, Aranjuez, October 9, 1808. *Ibid.*

³ From Sir Charles Stuart: "The Junta of Galicia will not permit British troops under General Baird to land at Corunna until they receive directions from Aranjuez." October. *Ibid.*

Poland and Italy, and crush at one blow the Spanish insurgents.¹ On November 5th he arrived at Vittoria, and five days later the Spanish General Blake was defeated at Espinosa on the upper Ebro. He, however, escaped with a remnant of his army into the mountains of Asturias. Soult then drove the centre of the Spanish army before him and captured Bruges, while Ney defeated the right wing at Tudela and forced it to retreat into Saragossa. The road was thus cleared, and Napoleon advanced straight for the capital, which he entered in triumph on December 4th.

1808.
November.

While the French were thus striking sudden and effectual blows, the British Government were slowly awakening to the fact that it was necessary to follow up their early successes by further action if the enemy were to be driven from the Peninsular. Sir John Moore was therefore given the command on October 6th, and directed to assemble the troops in Galicia or on the borders of Leon.² At the same time Sir David Baird and 15,000 men were ordered to Corunna. The two forces were to effect a junction as quickly as possible, and it was left to Sir John to determine if he would proceed by sea or land. Great efforts were necessary to equip the forces at Lisbon, but in eight days all were in motion, and it was hoped and expected that the Spanish generals on the Ebro would co-operate. Colonel Lopez, a Spanish officer, was deputed to assist the British on their march, and he advised that the land route should be taken.³ Many difficulties, however, were in the way. No food could be obtained on the road, no stores and equipments could be procured at Corunna, and it seemed impossible to drag the guns over the Portuguese mountains. Sir John therefore decided reluctantly to divide the army, and send the artillery, cavalry, and four regiments of infantry under the command of Lieutenant-General Hope by way of Madrid, while he led the main body through Portugal. He intended then to unite with the troops of General Hope and Sir David Baird either at Salamanca or Valladolid. Having given the necessary orders, Sir John left

¹ Napier gives the number of men as 200,000 veterans and 40,000 more "of inferior reputation." "History of the Peninsular War," vol. i. p. 131.

² "A Narrative of the Campaign of the British Army in Spain," by James Moore, Esq.

³ From Sir J. Moore to Lord Castlereagh. Appendix ii., *ibid.*

1808.
October.

Lisbon on October 27th. Nothing was known of the number or disposition of the French armies which were marching into the country, although "every foreign journal announced that vast bodies of troops of every description were hastening through Germany and France to Bayonne."¹ No intelligence, however, reached the Spanish and English newspapers, whose columns were glowing with accounts of the enthusiastic patriotism of the Spaniards, and with the comforting assurance that all ranks young and old had taken up arms and were determined to die rather than to submit to the invader of their country. The Juntas were as ignorant of the presence of the great force under Napoleon as were the British Ministers, who, with cheerful optimism, imagined that the French armies would be destroyed by the armed peasants alone.

Sir John Moore speedily discovered the truth. Considerable difficulties occurred at once with the commissariat, for if the patriotism of the Portuguese were great enough to cause them to take up arms, they had so little confidence in their rulers that they refused to accept Government bills in payment for supplies. The Central Committee continued to dispute, and the Junta of Galicia, after permitting Sir David Baird to land, did nothing to help him equip his troops. Still the main body pressed on and reached Atalaia on November 5th, where it was discovered that the roads, although bad, were practicable for guns. Despatches were therefore sent off to General Hope, telling him not to trust to local reports, but to send officers forward and endeavour to discover a shorter route than the one by Madrid.

Moore now heard from Lord William Bentinck that French reinforcements were entering Biscay and that Castanos was making some movements which might bring on an action. The advance was therefore rapidly pushed on. Almeida was reached on the 8th, Ciudad Rodrigo on the 11th, and Salamanca on the 13th. Here Moore heard that a Spanish force under Count Belvedere had been routed at Burgos and the town occupied by the French.

¹ The numbers collected in Spain under the command of Napoleon rose on November 15th to 335,223 men and 60,728 horses, with 400 guns. Napier's "History of the Peninsular War." Appendix xxviii.

He therefore at once wrote to Lord William Bentinck telling him of the difficulties he had experienced in obtaining supplies and complaining of the action of Generals Castanos and Blake who, "although they know that a British force is marching from different parts in order to unite, have marched away from the point of assembly and have left us exposed to be attacked and interrupted before our junction."¹ Two days after, information was brought that the French army had taken possession of the city of Valladolid, only twenty leagues from Salamanca. Moore had with him at this time only three brigades of infantry without a gun, and although the remainder of his army was moving up, it could not arrive for at least three days. His position was therefore a very dangerous one, and the Junta was informed that he might find it necessary to retire to Ciudad Rodrigo. If that were the case he asked for all the carts and mules in the country to transport his magazines. This was agreed to, but nothing was done, for although the people were well disposed, those of higher rank seemed quite apathetic to the fate of the army.

1808.
Novem-
ber.

A few days later came the report that Palafox had been overthrown at Tudela, but even now no reliable estimate of the strength of the French army could be obtained. Moore, however, decided to retreat into Portugal, and orders were sent to Sir David Baird to turn back towards the coast. The civil power was as much in the dark as the military. Mr. Frere, the British agent at Madrid, was told that the Spaniards would defend the capital to the last man. Believing this, he sent a despatch to Moore urging him to hasten to Madrid. The messenger was a French adventurer named Charmilly who was instructed, if the letter failed in its object, to deliver a second one practically commanding Moore not to retreat. On the receipt of this Sir John was very indignant, and not trusting Frere's information, sent Colonel Graham to obtain intelligence. From him he heard that Madrid had capitulated on the 3rd, but that Castella the Captain-General and all the military officers of rank had refused to ratify the agreement,

¹ From Sir John Moore to Lord William Bentinck, Salamanca, November 13, 1808.

1808.
Decem-
ber.

and had left the town with sixteen of their guns. Under these circumstances Graham did not think there was any chance of "any part of the French force between 20,000 and 30,000 being detached from Madrid."¹ He, however, thought that the total French force in Spain numbered between 70,000 and 80,000 men. The following day Moore wrote to Frere that as Madrid would occupy the attention of a considerable number of the enemy's troops, it was unlikely that a powerful army would be turned against him. He therefore intended to move towards Valladolid, where he hoped to unite his army and be ready to act.² Still he feared that unless the Spaniards would defend Ciudad Rodrigo and Zamora, his communications with Portugal, whence he drew his supplies, would be endangered. A few days later he heard that Soult was at Saldana and that the French thought the British army was retreating into Portugal. This decided him to unite his army as soon as possible, and instead of proceeding to Valladolid to march north against Soult.³ Baird was met on the 20th at Mayorga, and three days later the whole force was at Sahagun, about a day's march from Soult. Here Moore heard that Napoleon, accurately divining his intention, had left Madrid at the head of 40,000 men and was marching rapidly against him. Through storm and snow, over mountain and plain, the conqueror of half Europe was indeed hurrying after the small half-fed British force. There was nothing to be done but to retreat as hastily as possible. Hope retired by the Mayorga road and Baird by that of Valencia de San Juan. Next day, the 25th, Moore followed Hope with the reserve and light brigades. The Esla was crossed by the bridge at Benevente, which was destroyed just before the cavalry of the enemy reached the place. Higher up the river was a bridge at Mancilla. Romana had not destroyed this crossing, and was holding it with his Spanish troops; but on the 28th, after all the cavalry and stragglers had safely crossed,

¹ Letter from Colonel Graham to Sir John Moore, December 7. "A Narrative of the Campaign of the British Army in Spain," p. 112.

² From Sir John Moore to Mr. Frere, December 10, 1808. *Ibid.*, p. 116.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 129.

two arches of the solid masonry were blown away by Crawford. Romana was left to protect Leon, but when Soult appeared offered no resistance, and the enemy marched into the city. The conduct of the Spanish general was indeed most culpable. Moore had asked him to retire to the Asturias and leave the roads of Galicia open for his retreat. He had not done so, and thus the Spanish army was not only no help to the British, but proved to be a serious impediment by consuming the scanty provisions.

1808.
Decem-
ber.

Fortunately the van of the British army under General Fraser reached and secured Astorga before Soult arrived. Moore was thus enabled to leave Astorga on December 31st, but only just in time, for Napoleon arrived on the 1st of January. Under his command there were now assembled 80,000 infantry and cavalry with 200 pieces of artillery, and many more were on the march to join him.¹ Suddenly, however, he left the army and returned to Paris with all speed. He was informed that the alliance between Russia and Austria, fostered by Great Britain, was again renewed, and that these Powers were arming for the purpose of attacking France.² A rumour that Talleyrand and Fouché were plotting with Murat seems also to have influenced him, for he arrived in Paris in a violent rage and sharply rebuked both of his Ministers.³ The Imperial Guards and many of the finest corps were at once withdrawn from Spain and ordered to hasten to the Rhine, while Soult was left to plod through the slush and snow after the British. Moore, not knowing that Napoleon had left the army, continued his retreat under every conceivable difficulty. The natives afforded no help to the army which had come to protect them, and instead of offering their carts and waggons led them away and hid them. Much of the baggage and stores was therefore abandoned, while the sick and wounded were left behind in the towns and villages on the route.

1809.
January.

A forced retreat demoralises the best of troops, and

¹ "A Narrative of the Campaign of the British Army in Spain," p. 195. Napier's "History of the Peninsular War," vol. i. p. 195. In ten days Napoleon had crossed the snow-covered Carpathian mountains and had traversed two hundred miles through a hostile country with 50,000 men.

² Ibid., p. 196.

³ "Life of Napoleon I.," Holland Rose, vol. ii. p. 183.

1809.
January.

although the rear-guard maintained fair discipline, disorder and drunkenness became very prevalent in the main body. In order to restore confidence Moore halted at Lugo on January 7th, and drew up his army in battle array. At once the dissolute rabble became British soldiers again. Soult appeared about midday, and attacked the centre without effect. He then made a feint on the right and left flanks with the same result. It was obvious the English were in earnest, and Soult therefore ceased the attack and sent to hurry up reinforcements. Moore had, however, accomplished his object, and as it was useless to fight against overwhelming odds, he continued his retreat during the night amidst a boisterous storm of rain and sleet. On the 9th the advance-guard of the enemy's cavalry again began to press upon the British rear, and it was found necessary for General Paget to drive it back. The whole army then continued its march and reached Corunna on the morning of the 11th. Here a new disappointment awaited the tired troops, for the fleet of transports ordered from Vigo had been detained by gales and adverse winds. It was necessary to fight or be driven into the sea. Some of the officers indeed suggested that Soult should be asked for terms, but Moore resolutely refused to consider such a proposition, and commenced to make arrangements for the defence of the harbour and town. He had two days' respite, for the French were delayed at El Burgo, where the bridge had been blown up by Paget. All was planned when they appeared on the 14th. The same evening the transports arrived, and the stores, most of the artillery, the dismounted cavalry, and the sick and wounded were speedily embarked. Still Moore determined to give battle, and on the 16th the army was drawn up in line on a ridge outside the town. Baird was on the right, supported by Fraser, while Hope was on the left. The reserve, commanded by Paget, was placed behind the centre. The whole force did not number much more than 14,000, and the ground was so unfavourable for artillery that only twelve guns could be placed along the line. The French, on the other hand, numbered about 20,000, and were strong in guns of a heavy calibre. Suddenly a hail of shot dropped from a masked battery placed on a

height, and four solid French columns were hurled against the right. Baird was outflanked just as Fraser and Paget arrived to support him. The result was curious. The French who had outflanked Baird suddenly found themselves caught in an angle between two fires. Many were killed at once and the rest thrown into disorder. On the left Hope stubbornly held his ground, and the critical position was now in the centre round about Elvina. The 42nd, 50th, and the Guards were struggling desperately in the village, when a stray shot struck their leader, and Moore died with the laurels of victory already within his grasp. Hope succeeded to the command, and continued the action with great skill, while Soult poured his masses against the English centre. The force of the impact was terrific, but the British line never wavered. The French wings were next slowly forced back, and the centre began to tremble. Then the whole line broke, and, defeated at every point, the French troops sought refuge on the ridge of hills whence they had descended. The victory was great, but it was manifestly useless to remain at Corunna, and the troops were at once embarked. No serious attempt was made to interfere, for the French fired on the ships from a distance only, and avoided contact. On the next day the fleet set sail. In England the news of the disastrous retreat and the victory at Corunna was received with calm fortitude. The question was asked whether any good had been effected by the hardihood, perseverance, and valour of the army in Spain. No one answered, and the nation quietly prepared for a new effort.¹

¹ "English Battles and Sieges in the Peninsular," by Lieut.-General Sir William Napier, p. 16. "Life of Sir John Moore," p. 220.

CHAPTER XXIV

Wellesley appointed to command troops in Portugal—Secret reports from the Continent—King of Prussia still hesitating—The Emperor and Archduke appeal for the fatherland—The Czar's decree against English trade—Austrian army defeated—Napoleon enters Vienna—Action at Aspern—Napoleon crosses the Danube—Battle of Wagram—Wellesley in the Peninsular—Position of French armies—The English move along the Tagus—Battle of Talavera—Wellesley falls back to Badajoz—Prussian secret societies—The Walcheren Expedition—Castlereagh and Canning in the House of Commons—Expeditions to Naples and the Seven Islands—Quarrel between Canning and Castlereagh—Perceval Prime Minister—Treaty of Vienna—Government alarmed—Duke of York resigns the command of the army.

1809. THE Government now commenced to realise the strength of
April. the French forces in Spain, and the Opposition and Press did not permit them to forget the misfortune which had occurred to the British army. Still they did not relax their efforts to drive the enemy from the Peninsular, and appointed Wellesley, on April 4, 1809, to the command of the troops in Portugal.¹ The centre of interest was for the present, however, in Germany. Austria² prepared to play a more important part than that of mediator, and all Europe expected that a great national movement would take place in Prussia. The Emperor was no longer jealous of the crushed and humbled king, and nothing now prevented the union of all the German Powers against the common enemy. The Court of Vienna indeed realised that a struggle was inevitable, and Metternich at Paris understood that his friendship with Napoleon must cease. Count Stadion therefore set to work to prepare the army, while the Emperor Francis and the Archduke Charles passionately appealed

¹ In February Castlereagh stated that the British army was only intended to act as an auxiliary force in aid of the Spanish. In reply to the strictures on the Spanish generals, Canning said he was content that a British army should act in Spain, even if the Grand Inquisitor himself had been at the head of the Spanish armies.

² Canning stated there was no desire on the part of Great Britain to have Austria committed in a premature struggle, and "they would never desire to see Austria engaged in war on any but Austrian grounds."

to all Germans to save the fatherland. The call was nobly responded to, and by March 260,000 men were ready to take the field in Austria alone. Prussia was seething with patriotic feeling also, but now lacked a leader, for Stein, the only strong man in the Government, was forced to leave the country by Napoleon, when he discovered that he was plotting to arouse the people. 1809.
March.

The British Government were well posted in the affairs of Prussia, for the reports of the secret agents show that every move of the Nationalists and all the objects and methods of Prussian secret societies were made known to them. Nothing could be done however without the co-operation of the Court of Berlin, and this it was impossible to obtain. No help could be expected from Russia, for the Czar still followed Napoleon, although his enthusiasm for his ally was considerably lessened, and most of his Ministers were decidedly hostile to the French pretensions. Doubt of the intention of the Court of St. Petersburg and fear of the result of a campaign in Bavaria had completely paralysed the Government at Berlin. Francis, fearing disaster if Frederick would lend no aid, now sent the Prince of Orange to Berlin with the most friendly assurances, but his mission was unsuccessful. This is the more to be regretted, as it would have been easy for the Prussians to obtain possession of the fortresses which were only thinly garrisoned, and the "immediate and considerable supply of arms, ammunition, artillery, and money," which the country needed, could have easily been supplied by England. The Austrian proposals were, however, definitely disregarded, and several of the officers of the army, disgusted with the civil authorities, applied for their discharge and entered the Austrian service.¹

¹ From Heinrich Hahn, Secret Agent, April 29, 1809: "It is feared that Russia will declare war against Austria and soon enter Galicia. Have reason to believe that the Austrians still bear the greatest goodwill towards the King, and it is very probable that they have renewed the very handsome proposals they made to the King previous to his journey to St. Petersburg, which were at that time favourably received, but on the King's return, I am told, Count Gottz received orders not only not to attend to them, but further to retract whatever hopes or promises might have been made. King is very depressed, and thinks the action of Austria will be the ruin and overthrow of the Government and bring the like upon him. Several officers, impatient or dissatisfied, have applied for their discharge, and are going into the Austrian service." F. O. Records, Prussia Secret, No. 80.

1809. It happened that the campaign was over before the Czar
May. had decided whether to join the allies or not; but whatever his decision might have been, it is certain he was so incensed against England at this date, that he issued a decree to the Senate ordering a 'most rigorous observance of the Continental system of commercial warfare.'¹

While the Powers were deliberating, Napoleon as usual was acting. It is outside the scope of this work to describe the various encounters in the campaign which followed. In spite of the spontaneous action of the Tyrolese, who gained some advantages over the French, the Austrian army was eventually cut in halves, and the two wings separately defeated according to the approved method of Napoleonic warfare. The French then left the Archduke, who had lost 60,000 men, on the north of the Danube, and marched straight for Vienna, which was bombarded and occupied. Napoleon then took up his quarters in the palace of the Emperors. Still no peace was possible while the Archduke's army remained, and Napoleon determined to cross the river and give battle. For this purpose a bridge of boats was constructed at the island of Lobau, four miles below Vienna, over which 40,000 French crossed to the northern bank and occupied Aspern on May 20th. The Archduke attacked at once in front, and at the same time collected and set free several heavily laden barges in the river; these were whirled along by the rapid stream, and soon carried away the French boats. All reinforcements were thus cut off, but the bridges were rapidly repaired, and next day the engagement was renewed. Five times Napoleon occupied the village of Aspern, and five times he was driven out, until at length, finding victory impossible, he ordered a retreat on to the island.

The wonderful news spread throughout Europe: Napoleon

¹ May 7, 1809. Alexander to the Senate: "Since rupture with Great Britain the enemy has found it practicable, by means of neutral vessels, to supply himself with such products as he needs, and to gain strength by exchanging his own produce. We therefore order:—1st. All masters are to prove that property is neutral by the ship's documents; 2nd. If partly laden with merchandise of produce or manufacture of enemy, the said to be stopped and seized and sold by auction, but if more than half the cargo consists of such goods, then not only the cargo but the ship to be seized." F. O. Records, Russia, 75.

had himself been driven back by an army of equal size. Men's hearts beat fast with hope. Every one buckled on his sword except the poor weak King of Prussia, who still refused Austria's appeal for help. Indeed, so fearful was he that he requested the Austrian envoy to leave the country.¹

1809.
June.

But if the Government of Prussia was paralysed with fear, the people could be restrained no longer, and popular insurrections burst forth in Westphalia and Wurtemberg, heralding the national rising so long threatened. The army officers were thirsting for action, and while the Duke of Brunswick invaded the dominions of Napoleon's ally, the King of Saxony, and drove him from his capital, Colonel Gneisenau and several officers applied for their discharge in order to proceed to England and tender their services in raising a legion for the north of Germany.²

While England was still debating where she should land her forces, Napoleon was acting with the greatest promptitude and vigour. By the end of June two solid bridges were built from the southern bank to the island of Lobau, and six bridges of rafts were prepared to throw across the narrow northern channel of the river. All the outlying divisions were called to the rallying place, and 180,000 men awaited the order to cross. During the night of July 4th the bridges were launched into position, and practically the whole army deployed on to the opposite bank. Facing it, on the hills above the village of Wagram, the Archduke was waiting with a force of 130,000 men drawn up in battle array. He was attacked on the 5th, but without effect, and on the 6th the two greatest armies which had ever faced each other in Europe crashed together. Charles endeavoured to force his way between the French and the river, but Napoleon hurled himself at the centre with such violence that the troops told off for the flanking movement had to be recalled. During the morning the battle raged furiously, and the Austrians were forced back foot by foot until at 2 P.M. Charles commanded a retreat. This was

¹ From Heinrich Hahn, Secret Agent, June 21, 1809: "The Austrian Colonel Steigentisch has arrived here, but after a day or two he was asked to depart by the King, as the Russian and French Chargé d'affaires had inquired the object of his mission." F. O. Records, Prussian Secret, No. 80.

² From Heinrich Hahn, June 27. Ibid.

1809. carried out in perfect order without the loss of a single
July. gun, and although Napoleon was nominally victorious, the Austrian army remained in a sound fighting condition. An armistice was concluded at Znaim on July 12, and the foes awaited the action of the other Powers.

The British Government had now drifted into the practice of attacking the French at isolated points instead of attempting to form a coalition against Napoleon himself. Armies were sent to the Peninsular, and encouragement was given to the Prussians to rise as a nation, but no troops were despatched to their aid.¹ Instead, it was decided to send a most elaborate expedition to the coast of Holland.

The allies had not yet learnt that it was useless to attack the extremities of the French empire, and that success could only be attained by a mighty blow on the heart itself. Napoleon worked on a different principle. Whether in a political move or a battle, he threw his whole strength against the centre of the enemy and either accomplished or abandoned his object before devoting itself to any other matter.

In the meantime Sir Arthur Wellesley assumed command of the troops in Portugal, which numbered about 24,000 men, and was instructed to co-operate with the Spanish armies in the defence of the Peninsular. It was not, however, proposed to enter upon a campaign in Spain itself, because the Government had refused to ensure the port and fortress of Cadiz as a secure point of retreat in case the British met with disaster in the field. Still it was arranged that if the enemy penetrated in force towards Cadiz and the Spanish Government admitted a British force into the town, Wellesley should assist in the preservation of the place. The position of the enemy was as follows: Saragossa, besieged since November 24, had, after a magnificent defence, fallen on February 20, and was held by Junot; Mortier's corps was moving into Old Castile; Victor's corps, 30,000 strong, occupied the Guadiana, with headquarters at

¹ In April Lieutenant Mainburg and M. de Kleist were sent to Prussia to discover if the Prussian Court or people were determined to make any resistance, and if so, what means the parties had of carrying their designs into effect, and the nature of the assistance required from England. F. O. Records, Prussian Secret, 80.

Merida; Sebastian's corps was at Ciudad Real; Marshal Ney was stationed in Galicia; a detachment held Salamanca, and Soult with 24,000 men lay at Oporto. 1809.
May.

It was against the latter that Wellesley first moved. The Douro lay between the hostile forces, deep, swift-flowing, and 300 yards in width. The French patrols who were guarding the opposite bank were not very vigilant, and the possibility of utilising an unfinished building called the Seminary at once occurred to Wellesley. This was capable of holding two battalions. On May 12, three or four large barges were procured and troops stealthily poured into the Seminary, until the enemy discovered the movement and made a furious onslaught on the place. A violent struggle ensued before the French were forced back from that quarter of the town and the passage won.

General Sherbrooke with the brigade of Guards and the 29th Regiment now pressed the rear of the enemy, and General Murray's Germans and two squadrons of the 14th Dragoons charged them as they pushed through a narrow road towards the open country beyond. In the centre General Hill held the Seminary with the Buffs, the 48th, the 66th, and the 16th Portuguese, and also poured a withering fire into the masses as they passed. The French, now assailed in all directions, fled in disorder after losing about 500 men and leaving 55 guns in the hands of the British, whose loss was under 150 men.¹ At the same time General Beresford, in command of the Portuguese army, drove in Loison's outposts at Amarante and forced him to evacuate that important place. Soult was therefore compelled to retreat into the mountain passes of the north so hastily that he had to destroy his guns and baggage. Cheered by this success Wellesley decided to advance into Spain, and Cuesta, the Spanish Commander-in-Chief, who had 38,000 men including 7000 cavalry, was invited to act with him. At this time the British were very short of money and horses, and it was not until the end of June that the treasure arrived and it was possible to advance along the Tagus towards Madrid.

¹ Napier's "History of the Peninsular War," vol. i. p. 334. "Wellington Supplementary Despatches," vol. vi. p. 284.

1809.
June.

The centre of Napoleon's thought was Austria. Still he found time to give instructions to his generals in Spain, which were not, however, always obeyed. The disposition of the French was now as follows. Soult's three corps comprised 48,000 infantry and artillery and 5000 cavalry, and General Desolle's division of 50,000 foot and 9000 horse covered Madrid, which was under the command of Joseph Bonaparte. Besides these were Suchet's corps in Aragon and Augerau's corps in Catalonia, forming a total of 144,706 infantry and 29,207 cavalry.¹ These figures were not known to Wellesley, who was as ignorant of the true strength of the French as Sir John Moore had been, nor did he conceive the possibility of his base being threatened. With more confidence than knowledge, therefore, he marched from Abrantes on June 27 with 21,000 men, while 8000 more lay off the rock of Lisbon. Moving by the north bank of the Tagus, the army assembled at Plasencia on July 10, by which time Cuesta had crossed the Tagus at Almaraz and Marshal Victor had fallen back to Talavera. Difficulties of commissariat and transport were very great, and Cuesta could not be persuaded to move rapidly. Still Wellesley pressed on in absolute ignorance of the fact that Soult had been ordered by Joseph to arrive at Plasencia on the 29th and cut off his base. This would certainly have happened if it had not been for the impatience of Marshal Victor, who overruled the opinion of Joseph and advanced against the British army which had now taken up a strong position at Talavera. A battle was therefore inevitable, and was fought on July 27. Wellesley assumed supreme command and placed the Spanish in two lines on his right in front of Talavera, while the British army formed to the left and centre. The total forces consisted of 54,000 men with 100 guns and formed a front of two miles. They were faced by 50,000 French and 80 guns. Most of the Spanish could not be considered effective, for on the approach of the French 10,000 deserted and fled, dragging away their guns. Cuesta tried to herd back the cowardly infantry with his cavalry, and many were cut down by their fellows, but

¹ "Life of Wellington," Sir Herbert Maxwell, vol. i. p. 146. "History of the Peninsular War," vol. i. p. 352.

6000 of them did not return. Far different was the behaviour of the British, who so firmly stood their ground that the attack failed all along the line. Still neither could score a victory, and the fighting was renewed early next day, when a hand to hand conflict took place on the British left and the French were again repulsed with a loss of 1500. Jourdan now declared that the British position was impregnable. Joseph and Victor thought otherwise, and after a council of war had been held, the attack was renewed at noon.¹

1809.
July.

While the French were debating, the English were removing their wounded to the rear and gaining a little rest. The Spaniards were, however, wrangling among themselves in their camp, where all was confusion. Cuesta endeavoured to restore order, but being a man of violent temper and little judgment, inspired more terror than confidence. The French now altered their tactics. Instead of relying upon a plain frontal attack, Ruffin was directed to turn the left of the allies, while Lapisse attacked Sherbrooke in the centre. At two o'clock the line moved to the assault, 80 guns heralding the approach by a hail of shot which flew over the heads of the hurrying troops. The English regiments on the right stood firm as a wall to receive the shock, then advancing, overlapped the flank of the enemy and captured ten guns. On the left Villatte's division struggled for supremacy while Ruffin attacked the hill, the key of the position. There were now large gaps in Sherbrooke's division, but Ruffin was received with such a hot fire that he was held in check until the line was reformed. The human tide flowed and ebbed all day, and at its fall no advance had been made. Lapisse and 7389 men with 17 guns² were lost to France, while the English casualties numbered 6268 in the two days' fighting.

A few days later Wellesley heard that Soult had occupied Plasencia on August 1, and believing that he had only 15,000 men, decided to leave the Spanish army at Talavera and meet him in battle at Oropesa. On the 4th, however, Cuesta was told that Soult and Ney had joined and passed through

¹ Napier gives the number of French casualties as 7389 and 17 guns captured.

² Napier's "History of the Peninsular War," vol. i. p. 380.

1809.
August.

Plasencia.¹ The allied armies could not contend successfully with such a force, and it was obvious that their flank was threatened. Cuesta therefore abandoned Talavera and arrived at Plasencia, while Wellesley withdrew and re-established his line of communication with Seville and Lisbon. At this time the Marquis Wellesley was appointed ambassador to Spain in the place of Mr. Frere, and was instructed by Canning to ask Sir Arthur if the French could be driven out of the Peninsula with 30,000 British aided by the Spanish and Portuguese armies. If the General considered that the occupation of Cadiz was necessary, the ambassador was to make it a *sine qua non* of the employment of the British army.

Already the British General realised the enormous difficulty of the task he was asked to perform, and that he could not expect much help from the Spanish. Their Government was miserably weak, their officers were quite inefficient, and their troops were untrained and deficient in numbers. Under the circumstances, therefore, he decided to fall back, and reached Badajoz in September.

Napoleon was now free from any immediate anxiety. Spain and Prussia seemed secure, for Berlin was still passive and he knew not that a strong national feeling was steadily growing among the people. As early as July 1808 a secret society at Königsberg called the Tugenbund had been formed. Several distinguished officers, among whom were Colonels Gneisenau and Grohman, were active members, and literary men, such as Professor King, also joined. Stein, however, did not approve of the society,² although the King sanctioned its statutes. In Berlin another society was established by Count Chasot which was even more secret, for the members assumed fictitious names. Their object was to revolt and save their country from France, but they were opposed to any action in concert with the Czar of Russia. It is very interesting to read the curious language the members adopted to protect themselves.

¹ Napoleon did not approve of this move: "Il est bien malheureux que le maréchal Soult ait si mal manœuvré que de ne s'être pas réuni au Roi." August 7, 1809, to General Clarke. "Correspondence," vol. xxx. p. 315.

² "Life and Times of Stein," J. R. Seeley, M.A., vol. ii. p. 85.

Schleiermacher writes as follows: "Meanwhile our friends over sea might have taken his kitchen garden to themselves. Now I am sorry to say I fear we shall have but a moderate fair, and in the end nothing but miserable weeds."¹

1809.
Septem-
ber.

This seems to mean that England might have shown more sympathy, but, as a matter of fact, our Foreign Records show that the British Government did aid the secret societies with funds. On September 22, 1809, Lieutenant Mainburg, the secret agent of England, thus writes: "In the absence of Colonel Gn——, Count Chasot is considered here as the head of the party; he is president of the secret committee. The King has the greatest confidence in him and has reluctantly granted him leave to quit his, and enter a foreign service. Count Arnheim, a member of the committee, is the richest individual here. All the members are men respected for their talents or characters. The King, about two years ago, encouraged the formation of these committees, who all report to a central committee. Kleist was sent to England by Chasot and raised money from the British Government for the purpose of assisting the intended insurrection in Westphalia. Kleist, however, quarrelled with the secret committee and refused to pay over the money, insisting on keeping in his hands 25,000 dollars."²

The letters of Mainburg are signed Carl Schaedler or Seutsch, and Kleist is occasionally mentioned as Mr. Karbe. The transactions are described as though they relate to commercial operations, and the establishment of a bank in Bohemia. At length an insurrection occurred in Westphalia, which was led by Colonel Dörnberg of the Chasseurs, who was so little suspected that he was actually ordered to lead two companies to the protection of the palace. Hearing, however, that he was betrayed, he hurried to Homburg and joined the insurgents there, who numbered some thousands. It was now determined to march on Cassel, but on the way the force was met by Government troops and repulsed by a discharge of musketry. Dörnberg escaped

¹ "Life and Times of Stein," J. R. Seeley, M.A., vol. ii. p. 92.

² From Lieutenant Mainburg, September 22. F. O. Records, Prussia Secret, 80.

1809.
Septem-
ber.

into Bohemia, and thus ended the national insurrection in Prussia in 1809.¹

It is apparent from the Records that the British Government were not only aware of the existence of the secret societies and helped them, but also knew that there was as yet no chance that the Court of Berlin would support a national rising against France. This may have influenced them greatly in their decision to revive an old scheme for attacking the French fleet and docks at Antwerp and not to despatch a force to the north of Germany. Whichever way they acted, however, they were too late to make a diversion in favour of Austria, for it was not until July 27 that the expedition left England.

It was conceived on a colossal scale. Forty thousand troops, led by Sir Richard Strachan, were to be conveyed to the Scheldt in four hundred transports, protected by a powerful fleet commanded by the Earl of Chatham, a Minister whose appointment seems to have been due more to the fame of his father and brother than to any particular merit of his own. The troops were landed on Walcheren Island and invested Flushing, which was soon almost reduced to ashes and capitulated on August 15. Six days later Lord Chatham thought he would sail up the river towards Antwerp, but found he was too late, for the French fleet had taken up a position before the city and the intermediate forts had been greatly strengthened. No advance was therefore attempted and nothing more was done. For weeks the army were lying idle in the fever-stricken swamps of Walcheren. The four Generals, Lord Rosslyn, Fraser, Grosvenor, and Disney, speedily fell ill, and in September 11,000 men were also affected. To add to their misery the medical arrangements entirely broke down, for this great army was accompanied by only one hospital ship, although the spot was so notoriously unhealthy that Napoleon would never permit a single soldier to serve there on garrison duty. As it was useless to remain longer, Chatham recommended the Government to recall the force, and taking with him as many of the sick as possible,

¹ "Life and Times of Stein," J. R. Seeley, M.A., vol. ii. p. 349.

returned to England. A few months after, the rest of the troops ignominiously followed. 1809.
August.

It is a little difficult to mete out the blame for the miserable result of this attempt. The Government knew nothing of the difficulties,¹ and trusted entirely to mere numbers under an incompetent chief, whereas a few troops under a skilful leader might have quickly struck a decided blow and attained their object.

The country, accustomed to the bungling of campaigns, listlessly awaited to hear the apology of Lord Castlereagh on March 26, 1810: "The chief object of the expedition was the reduction of Antwerp and the capture of the enemy's fleet and arsenals, and the practicability of our success mainly depended on the speedy arrival of our expedition at Sandfleet."² The scheme had not been decided upon until June 21st, but "to no other quarter than the Scheldt could the efforts of our arms have been directed with anything like the same prospects of advantage either to our own interests or to those of the common cause." He next defended the Government for not sending an expedition to the north of Germany, in these words: "The means of compliance (with the requests of Austria) were not within our competence."

Canning also supported the action of the Government, of which he was a member, and thought that a force acting on the Scheldt would be as efficacious in drawing French troops from Austria as an army sent to the north of Germany. The explanations were long and elaborate, but not satisfactory. It was obvious that neither statesmen nor generals understood the difficulties of the task they had undertaken, and that however successful the expedition might have been, it would have failed in its object. It was, indeed, quite useless to attempt to draw the French forces from the Danube to the Scheldt or to North Germany, after the Austrians had been defeated. The excuse that

¹ "Lord C. says Ministers expected that the army would reach Antwerp in a week. Sir R. S. declares that he told Lord Mulgrave it was quite impossible to get at the French ships, as they would run up to Antwerp as soon as we made our appearance." Letter from Codrington, July 26, 1809. "Mémorial of the Life of Sir Edward Codrington," by Lady Bouchier.

² "Parliamentary Debates," vol. xvi. p. 83.

1809. means were not forthcoming was particularly weak, as
July. the expedition had been fitted out in a most extravagant manner.

Still the policy of the Government was consistent, and was directed with the hope of creating diversions in favour of Austria. In June, Sir John Stewart, who commanded the British army in Sicily, embarked with 15,000 troops to attack Naples. These were afterwards joined by a body of Sicilian troops, and the whole advanced against the city. King Joachim had, however, formed a large body of national guards, which with his own regular forces constituted a powerful army, and after some fighting for the castle of Scylla the British were forced to retire and the scheme was abandoned. The fleet was more successful. On April 11th Lord Cochrane attacked a French squadron lying under the forts of Aix. The assault of the frigates was aided by fireships, and soon most of the enemy's vessels were driven on shore. Four of the battleships were, however, taken and blown up at their anchorage. Towards the end of October a small squadron from Lord Collingwood's fleet, under the command of Brigadier-General Oswald, captured the islands of Zante, Cephalonia, Ithaca, and Cerigo, after a faint resistance on the part of the French garrisons. The Government of the Seven Islands was then declared to be restored.

Unfortunately the Ministry was now to be deprived of its two strongest members. Canning disliked Castlereagh, and objected because, as Secretary for War, he received certain correspondence which he considered ought to be sent to the Foreign Office. In April, therefore, he requested that a change should be made, and offered to resign. The Duke of Portland, who wished for a peaceful term of office, temporised, and asked him to wait until after the Easter holidays. He then had a consultation with the King, and suggested that the business of the War Office connected with political correspondence should be transferred to the Foreign Office. All this was concealed from Castlereagh, although Canning protested against any secrecy, and nothing was done until after the Walcheren Expedition had sailed. Then on July 5th it was proposed that Lord Wellesley

should be appointed to the War Office.¹ Canning was still dissatisfied, and in spite of the efforts of the Duke of Portland to arrange matters to his satisfaction, resigned on September 6th. In the meantime Castlereagh had discovered what was proceeding, and as he considered that an intrigue had been carried on by his colleagues, he also resigned, and challenged Canning to a duel. This was fought on September 22nd, when Canning was slightly wounded. The Duke of Portland being now seriously ill also retired, and died a few days afterwards. George III. was greatly perturbed at the loss of his Prime Minister and his two powerful colleagues, for the Catholic bogey at once stalked out of its cupboard hand in hand with Lord Grenville. There appeared indeed to be no alternative to a coalition Government, and the Cabinet approached the King on the subject. On September 21st he wrote that if it were absolutely necessary, Lords Grenville and Grey should be asked to join the Administration. The two Peers were therefore invited to join the Tory Government, but at once refused to entertain the offer. The King was greatly relieved, and the already weakened Ministry was obliged to continue with Mr. Perceval as leader. Lord Wellesley was added as Foreign Secretary, and Lord Liverpool took the seals of the War Office.

1809.
Septem-
ber.

Napoleon was now free to dictate his own terms, for everywhere his enemies were either beaten back or held in check. The armistice of Znaim was developed into the Treaty of Vienna, by which Austria was deprived of 50,000 square miles of territory and cut off from the sea. Bavaria and the Grand Duchy of Warsaw were also enriched at her expense, while the dominions of France were extended without a break to the borders of Turkey. Austria was crushed, but from the ruins a great statesman arose.

October.

Metternich had quite won Napoleon's heart at Paris by his personal charm of manner, and he was now, with the full approval of that monarch, chosen to replace Stadion. The Court of Vienna thereupon ceased to speak of national patriotism, and once more returned to the well tried policy-

¹ Canning's explanation is given in a letter to Lord Camden. *Annual Register*, 1809, Appendix, p. 516.

1809.
October.

of benefiting itself with the aid of any ally. An opportunity soon arose. Napoleon wished for an heir to his extensive dominions; it was therefore necessary to divorce Josephine and find another wife. The sister of Alexander seemed to be a suitable bride, but the match was opposed by the Dowager Empress, who was strongly hostile to Napoleon, and pleaded two months afterwards that the tender age of the Princess, who was only twenty years old, formed an insuperable obstacle. Meanwhile Metternich¹ had hinted at an alliance with the Archduchess Marie Louise, and this so pleased Napoleon that he did not even wait for the answer from Russia. The marriage contract was speedily drawn up, and the ceremony took place at Vienna by proxy, and was repeated at Notre Dame on April 2, 1810. Thus was Austria allowed a few years' respite; but as usual in conciliating one country Napoleon offended another. Talleyrand's scheme for a Franco-Austrian alliance was furthered, but Alexander was so annoyed by the marriage arrangements that a wide breach was made in the Franco-Russian friendship. For the present, however, Europe was at peace, and as it was useless keeping Lieutenant Mainburg in Prussia, he was instructed in October to obtain as much as possible of the £8000 which England had advanced to Kleist, and return home.²

Napoleon's star was at its meridian; but it no longer shone alone. The victory of Talavera proved that England possessed a general who could also lead troops to victory. Sincere indeed were the rejoicings and hearty the congratulations when the gallant soldier was raised to the peerage as Viscount Wellington. The state of the Spanish Government and army now prevented further action, for "nothing could exceed the general discontent, dissatisfaction, and demoralisation of the mass of the people and the army." Wellington, therefore, waited for some time on the Guadiana, and then took up a position near Almeida. The French were thus enabled to march unopposed into Aragon and Catalonia. A Spanish army was defeated at Ocana on November 20th, and

¹ "Life of Napoleon I.," Holland Rose, vol. ii. p. 206.

² F. O. Records, Prussia Secret, 80.

La Mancha and Andalusia were thrown open to the enemy. Cadiz was, however, saved by General Albuquerque.

1809.
Novem-
ber.

Wellington was still hopeful, and thought that if the Spaniards did not advance too far forward and attempt to obtain possession of the capital, it would require a very large force to conquer the country.¹ He knew also that the enemy had neither the money nor means to attack Portugal at once, and was confident that in two or three months they would not succeed even with an army of seventy or eighty thousand men. Napoleon, indeed, intended first to crush Spain by completing the conquest of Andalusia and Catalonia, while Joseph's army held the centre of the country, and then to advance into Portugal in the following year.

The forced inactivity of Wellington, and his retreat after Talavera, were very disappointing to the Government at home, which was now getting a little alarmed at the prowess of the French army. The Opposition and some of the newspapers, indeed, suggested that the army should be recalled from the Peninsular altogether, and discussed the question whether Wellington would be able to embark his army before Massena arrived with the troops from Germany. Liverpool himself wrote to Wellington on December 15th that his Majesty was a little anxious about the safety of his dominions, now that most of the army was in the Peninsular, but he felt "the strongest inducement to continue, so long as there was a reasonable chance of success."²

Wellington quietly pursued his plans, depressed by neither Ministers, Opposition, nor public opinion. He now wrote to his brother that he did not intend to retire into Portugal until the last moment, because he thought if he did so, there would be an end of all connection with Spain. It has always been the custom of British Governments to give their commanders as free a hand as possible, but although Wellington was constantly worried with queries and requests to be as economical as possible, probably no general has ever been

¹ Wellington to Lord Liverpool, November 19, 1809.

² In a private letter of the same date he wrote: "The expenditure of this country has become enormous, and if the war is to continue we must look to economy."

1809.
Decem-
ber.

left so completely to his own devices. The Government, indeed, were very weak personally, and were continually badgered by the strong Opposition because British troops had not performed impossible tasks in the Peninsular, and had done nothing at all in Holland. A whisper was now heard of corruption at home. In the spring the Duke of York, as Commander-in-Chief, was accused by Colonel Wardle of being influenced in his appointments in the army by his mistress, Mrs. Clark, whose support was supposed to be procured by money. Although the details of the story were very unpleasant, the House of Commons foolishly insisted upon ventilating it in full committee. The charge of corruption was by no means proved, but the Duke resigned his appointment on March 18th, and General Sir David Dundas was appointed in his stead. In the same month a Bill was introduced to prevent the sale and brokerage of offices. Two months later Lord Castle-reagh and Mr. Perceval were hoist on their own petard, for they were charged with procuring the election of Mr. Quinton Dick, and of influencing his vote. Large majorities acquitted them, but the succession of scandals tended to weaken the credit of the Government in the country and to strengthen the case for reform which was now strongly agitating the public mind. It was thought that if the people were given a vote, men would be elected to the House of Commons better fitted to be legislators than those nominated by borough owners, and that the Ministry would be chosen from the most capable members of Parliament. It was hoped that Governments would then cease to devise Walcheren Expeditions and to bungle their campaigns. Men all have votes now, and it is interesting to inquire how far these hopes have been realised. Commercial men and lawyers have to a great extent replaced the younger sons of the aristocracy and the country gentlemen in the House of Commons, while recording-men frequently return one of their own class to represent them. Politicians, therefore, instead of being drawn from a small section of society only, are derived from the whole population.

The result, however, is disappointing. There are more speakers now but fewer orators, and members seem to be

ambitious to shine more as critics of each other's speeches than to learn to become constructive statesmen. In other words, the House of Commons is now more a debating society than a solemn legislative body.

The publicity given to Parliamentary affairs and the keen criticism of the Press prevent the appointment of absolutely inefficient men to office and compel the recognition of men of merit, yet influence still determines political promotion to a great extent. The result is, Governments still bungle their campaigns abroad, and at home suggest changes which the country will not tolerate, and pass measures which cause widespread discontent.

1809.
Decem-
ber.

CHAPTER XXV

Liverpool and the Government alarmed at condition of affairs in the Peninsular—French invade Andalusia—Cadiz defended by the allied troops—Lines of Torres Vedra—Louis Philippe of Orleans—Massena invades Portugal—Victory of Busaco—Wellington retires to his lines—Massena at length retreats—Napoleon refuses to send reinforcements—Soult retires from Cadiz—General position of troops—Estrangement of Napoleon and Alexander—War in the air—Effects of the Continental system—Prosperity of British trade—Depressing effects of the condition of the currency—Committee to inquire into its causes and cure—Failures of banks and merchants—Revolution in the Spanish colonies—Liverpool formulates the English policy in regard to them—Misunderstanding with the United States—Final insanity of George III.

1810. It is difficult for us to realise in these days of telegraphs and
January. special editions that the English people knew practically nothing of Wellington's movements and intentions, and the Government only expected to hear he had been forced to retire. Liverpool was indeed so anxious to afford a safe retreat for the army, that he ordered the fleet of transports at Lisbon to be raised to 45,000 tons, and gave no hope that large reinforcements, either of men or of treasure, would be sent. On January 3, 1810, he instructed Wellington how to dispose of his army in case of a retreat. After embarking at Lisbon, 6000 troops were to be landed at Gibraltar, and the remainder at Cadiz, if the Spaniards would admit them, but if not, the whole force was to return to England.¹ The chief cause of the alarm of the Secretary for War was the defeats of the Spanish armies under General Areizaga at Ocana, on November 19th, and the Duque del Parque at Alba de Tormes. Eventually, however, the Government was reassured by the quiet confidence of Wellington, and decided to employ 30,000 men in Portugal, and to furnish aid to the extent of £980,000 a year. Castana was now appointed Com-

¹ "Wellington Supplementary Despatches," vol. vi. p. 465. "You would rather be excused for bringing away the army a little too soon than by remaining in Portugal a little too long, exposing it to those risks from which no military operations can be wholly exempt."—Liverpool to Wellington, March 13, 1810. *Ibid.*, p. 493.

mander-in-Chief of the Spanish army, and the Hon. Henry Wellesley was sent out as Minister Plenipotentiary to the Spanish Government at Cadiz. 1810. January.

As the health of the troops had been very unsatisfactory, Wellington left General Hill with 10,000 men at Abrantes, and moved his army from Badajoz across the Tagus to the neighbourhood of Viseu, where he established his headquarters.

Napoleon now devoted his attention to the Peninsular, and bitterly complained of the inactivity of Joseph.¹ Stung by his reproaches, the latter sent Soult with 65,000 men to restore order in Andalusia, which was seething with insurrection. He then placed a corps between Talavera and Toledo to watch the British army and to protect Madrid, and early in January 1810 proceeded to Santa Cruz, where the army of Andalusia was formed in three distinct bodies. Seville also was in a condition of anarchy, and Albuquerque, realising that it was impossible to protect it, retired to Cadiz, and the city fell into the hands of the French on the 31st. Victor rapidly followed Albuquerque to the Isle of Leon, and it is thought that if an attack had been made at once the place must have fallen.² The French, however, overrated its strength, and when their summons to surrender was refused, proceeded to gird the whole bay with works. The successful march of Soult had given the enemy the whole of Andalusia and Southern Estremadura, with the important exceptions of Gibraltar and Cadiz, for there is no doubt that if the latter place had fallen the whole course of the war in the Peninsular would have been very different. The rapid march of Albuquerque, and his speedy action in placing the works of Leon in a state to resist a sudden attack, must therefore rank amongst the most important events of the war. Small bodies of troops were now sent from England to reinforce the army, and in February General William Stewart, with 3000 men, arrived. In the following month General Graham appeared at Cadiz, where he was received with great enthusiasm, and at once assumed supreme command of the British. On his

¹ *Correspondance de Napoléon I^{er}*, 1809, tome xx. p. 42.

² Napier's "History of the Peninsular War," vol. ii. p. 295.

1810.
March.

arrival he proceeded to put the defences of the town into a satisfactory condition, while General Vanegas attempted to improve the condition of the Spanish troops.

Some difference of opinion now occurred, for Liverpool wrote that in England a higher value was attached to Cadiz than to Lisbon, while Wellington thought "that the English ought to have nothing to say to Cadiz," but still paid a visit to the city and wrote long instructions for its defence. Henry Wellesley was confident that the French would never get near enough to harm the place with their shells unless they first forced the Isle of Leon and the new battery of the Cortadura, which was now nearly completed.¹ The whole British force in Portugal was now barely 20,000 men, but they were actuated by the calm iron will of their leader, who, in spite of absolutely insufficient funds, was devising one of the most famous works for defence ever constructed. Financial difficulties were still very great, although a brisk trade in specie was carried on between London and Lisbon. Indeed, it was calculated that not less than £7,000,000 was imported from England between September 1808 and June 1810, but as the Government paid from 16 to 20 per cent. for every shilling procured in this manner, Wellington suggested that the British Government should export specie themselves and save the high commission, but hoped that they would not stop the traffic by private individuals if they were unable to do so.² Funds were indeed very limited, the British army in Portugal was a mere handful, the Spanish Juntas and the Portuguese Regency were nervous and impatient, the Opposition and Press at home were shouting for evacuation, but Wellington steadily persevered. A series of defensive works were designed to protect Lisbon. Across the tongue of land on which the city stands run two chains, of mountains, the most northerly extending from Alliandra on the Tagus to the Atlantic, near St. Pedro da Cadeira, a distance of about twenty-seven miles, and the other from the mouth of the river St. Lorenza on the Atlantic, also to the

¹ From Hon. H. Wellesley, March 12, 1810. "Supplementary Despatches," vol. vi. p. 493. The total of effectives in the Isle of Leon on March 22nd was put at 16,900, of which 2900 were British troops. *Ibid.*, p. 498.

² Wellington to Liverpool, June 6, 1810.

Tagus near to Alhandra, a distance of twenty-four miles, the two lines thus forming the sides of an irregular triangle. These were defended by redoubts and batteries designed to contain nearly 450 guns¹ and 30,000 infantry. Twenty-four miles to the rear of these two main lines was a third, intended to cover a forced embarkation, if by any chance the first two should be carried. It was only about two miles in length, and extended from the town of Janquera to the Passo d'Arcos on the Tagus. The construction of these stupendous works was entrusted to Lieut.-Colonel Richard Fletcher of the Royal Engineers, a most distinguished officer, who carried out the design in an entirely satisfactory and thorough manner. No one knew better than Wellington the inconvenience of having his movements and intentions discussed in the House of Commons at home and described in detail in the Press for the benefit of the enemy. He therefore carefully concealed his plan from the Government at home, and very few of his own officers even knew of the existence of the lines. By means of the fortifications the land within was converted practically into a great fortress, covering about 500 square miles of ground, and capable of accommodating, if necessary, the whole population of Portugal. All being ready, Wellington, as Marshal-General of Portugal, now called the whole of the male population to arms, with the result that by the end of May 1810, 430,000 men were enrolled and more or less armed. He then issued a proclamation ordering all persons who dwelt in any district that was traversed by the enemy to withdraw towards Lisbon, after destroying all the crops and cattle which they could not carry away or drive with them. Thus was the whole of the country to be devastated before the French as they advanced.

1810.
May.

Meanwhile the war was being carried on with terrible ferocity. In Andalusia small bodies of French soldiers were constantly being attacked and submitted to the harshest treatment by the bands of Spanish guerillas which prowled the province. Soult therefore issued a proclamation decree-

¹ The total in the 108 works was made up as follows: Six 5½-inch howitzers, 20 24-prs., 262 12-prs., 122 9-prs., 37 6-prs. "Wellington Supplementary Despatches," vol. vi. p. 545.

1810. ing that every irregular taken with arms in his hands should
April. be shot, and the Spanish Government retaliated by threatening that three Frenchmen would be executed for every Spaniard so killed. In this spirit was the war carried on. Matagorda fell in April, and Henry Wellesley wrote that if the French could establish themselves there, they would be able to throw shells into Cadiz, where, to add to the trouble, provisions were already becoming scarce.¹

Among the refugee Princes of France the most energetic was Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans. In the latter months of 1808 he proposed to take a voyage, ostensibly for the benefit of his health, and for the purpose of calling for his mother and sister at Gibraltar or some port of Spain. The Government were afraid that he intended to intrigue with Prince Leopold, and in December the Prime Minister wrote that the King could not permit any landing in Spain at all, even if the Duke promised not to interfere in any way with the affairs of Spain.² Nevertheless the voyage was taken as arranged, and the Duke's intentions became apparent in April 1809. He wrote from Palermo that their Sicilian Majesties proposed to him that if they regained their kingdom, and were able to form an army to fight the common enemy, he should be given the command, which was at present in the hands of Sir C. Stuart. Canning replied that his Majesty would not assent to such a step, and that the Government had understood that His Serene Highness had proceeded to the Mediterranean solely and only to greet his mother.³ After two years of intrigue the Cortes, the national assembly of Spain, had at length met in Cadiz and taken the title of Majesty, whereas the Regency were only styled Highness. This caused great jealousy, for the latter were by no means prepared to take an inferior position. In order to show their power they therefore invited the Duke in March to take the command of an army on the frontier of France. In response to this Louis Philippe, after landing at Malta in June, made his way to Tarragona in Catalonia, where he published a proclamation inviting all

¹ H. Wellesley to Wellington, April 23, 1810. "Supplementary Despatches," vol. vi. p. 513.

² F. O. Records, France, 79.

³ Ibid.

true Frenchmen as well as Spaniards to join him in an effort to deliver themselves from the yoke of tyranny and usurpation. On June 26th he appeared at Cadiz, but Castana at once assured Wellesley that the Cortes would give him no command in the armies of Spain.¹ Still he remained and used all his influence to obtain a position, until October 3rd, when he left Cadiz and returned to Sicily, where he married the daughter of the King on November 28th. He was now distrusted both by the British and Spanish, who were afraid that he would endeavour to usurp great power.

1810.
April.

Suspicion and intrigue reigned in Cadiz. The Spanish leaders would not work together against the French and failed to form an efficient government, while the Cortes behaved with the greatest injustice towards the colonies, which had loyally contributed to the war.

On the 26th of April Wellington moved his quarters to Celorico, and arranged his forces along the frontier. Massena with an army of 86,000, and 52,000 in reserve, advanced against Ciudad Rodrigo early in June, but finding it difficult to maintain all his force in a hostile country, detached Reynier's corps to the south of the Tagus. Wellington wished to relieve the fortress, but Romana said he could not hold his position if General Hill were withdrawn.² Still a gallant resistance was made by General Herrasti and a garrison of 5000 men until July 11th, when the place was surrendered. Wellington was blamed by many for not advancing to its relief. It is, however, apparent that such a move would have interfered with his great scheme to entice the French into the trap before the lines of Torres Vedras. The French now advanced to attack Almeida. Close by lay Crauford's Division, and that rash but bold commander, in disobedience to orders, gave battle to Ney at the Com, on the 24th of July. In this action the French lost over 1000 men, slaughtered for the most part as they

¹ From H. Wellesley, August 16, 1810.

² Wellington to the Right Hon. W. W. Pole: "I thought the relief of Ciudad Rodrigo so important that I wished to attempt it, but the Marques de la Romana said that he could not maintain his position if General Hill was withdrawn, so I was obliged to allow matters to take their course." July 31, 1810. General Hill was at this time watching the approaches to the Tagus.

1810. endeavoured to cross the narrow bridge over the river. Still
June. the main advance was not affected, and Almeida was invested and capitulated on August 27th, when the two main armies at length came in contact.

Massena now, according to the French custom at this period, issued a proclamation to the Portuguese, stating that his troops came as friends. Wellington therefore ordered the people to resist the invaders on pain of punishment as traitors. His position was nevertheless extremely embarrassing, for the Portuguese Government were most annoyed at the fall of Almeida, and used it as an excuse to oppose all his military proceedings. It is true Wellington had not taken them into his confidence; but they were not justified in stating he had promised to raise the siege and then deserted the place. Knowing nothing of the lines of Torres Vedras, the Government clamoured for a defence of the frontier, and opposed the destruction of the crops and mills along the line of his retreat. The country between the Mondego, the Tagus, and the lines of Torres Vedras was not therefore devastated, and still contained provisions sufficient for the French during the ensuing winter. Wellington remained firm, and replied to the Regency that he would never "permit public clamour and panic to induce him to change in the smallest degree a system and plan of operation which he had adopted after mature consideration, and which daily experience proved to be the only one likely to produce a good end."¹ He would permit no interference, and simply required the Government to maintain order in Lisbon and feed their own troops.

Massena's instructions were to convert Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida into bases for the conquest of Portugal, and to advance along the Tagus towards Lisbon. He however decided to follow the three roads of Belmonte, Celerico, and Viseu instead. Reynier was ordered to concentrate a force at Guarda, Ney and the heavy cavalry at Macal da Chao, and Junot at Pinhel.

On September 16th the French army of 72,000 men advanced into Portugal in three columns, which afterwards met on the 21st at Viseu. Wellington fell back

¹ Napier's "History of the Peninsular War," vol. ii. p. 114.

before them and was joined by General Hill at Alva, the total force of the allies now being 49,000, of whom nearly half were Portuguese. The discontent of the Government had spread to the officers, the people neglected to denude the country of supplies, and all were demoralised by the continued retreat. In order therefore to revive confidence, Wellington took up a very strong position on the ridge of Busaco, and fought a severe action on September 27th. Hill was placed on the extreme right with Picton next, while Coleman's and Pack's Portuguese brigades were on the left in front of the line. Massena decided to make a frontal attack, and hurled five columns against the line of the allies. Three were commanded by Ney on the right, and two by Reynier on the left. With great courage and dash the latter stormed the heights and pushed back the right of the 3rd Division, then wheeling to the right threatened to outflank Picton.¹ Leith's column hastened to his assistance, while the 45th and 38th Regiments and the 8th Portuguese charged the French with the bayonet. Still they held their ground until the 9th, the 38th, and the Royal Scots advanced and cleared the crest, when Hill brought in his division from the right and the line was re-formed. On the left Crauford easily held his ground, for as fast as the French topped the ridge they were thrown back, leaving hundreds of dead and dying on the side of the hill. The French loss amounted to 4500, the English and Portuguese to about 1300.²

1810.
Septem-
ber.

The effects of this victory on the spirits and hopes of the allies were as marked as they were instantaneous. The Portuguese had shown they could fight, and the British officers who had commenced to croak were silenced. Unfortunately the full benefit was not obtained, for Colonel Trant, who was sent to prevent Massena making a flanking movement to the left, was summoned by General Silveira to protect Oporto, and the way was thus left open.³ Massena

¹ See "Life of Wellington," Sir Herbert Maxwell, vol. i. p. 196. Napier's "History of the Peninsular War," vol. ii. p. 117.

² Ibid., vol. ii. p. 119.

³ Wellington stated "he would have stopped the enemy entirely at Busaco if it had not been for the blunder of the Portuguese general, who was prevented by a small French patrol from sending Trant by the road he was ordered to march." To Right Hon. W. W. Pole, October 4, 1810.

1810.
October.

therefore passed the Sierra de Caramula unopposed, and Wellington fell back on Coimbra and Leiria, still luring on his foe. Until now few, if any, of his officers knew of the lines of Torres Vedras, and both they and the French thought he was hurrying to embark at Lisbon. An intercepted letter from Massena was found in which he described the action at Busaco, and stated that the Anglo-Portuguese army was in full retreat to Lisbon.¹ Not before October 10th did Massena discover the existence of these tremendous fortifications, for not a single spy existed in Portugal to warn him, and by the end of the month nearly 60,000 men of the allied army were in comfort and plenty behind the impregnable mountain walls. Far different was his own fate outside. Not only was he very short of provisions and necessities, but the French foraging parties were constantly attacked by the Portuguese militia when they endeavoured to collect the grain and cattle which had not been removed or destroyed.

It was soon apparent that it was impossible to remain there, and on the 15th of November Massena took advantage of a thick fog to break up his encampment and retire towards Santarem and Thomar. Wellington followed closely and took up a position extending from Alcoentre to Villa Franca, with headquarters at Cartaxos. Both generals now paused, for although Wellington's army numbered 60,000 and Massena's only 50,000, neither was willing to risk a fight and lose a great number of men without some prospect of a decisive result.

The general position of the allies now assumed a crescent-shaped line extending from Corunna to Cadiz, with Wellington's army in the centre. A squadron of frigates was at Corunna and a besieged army and fleet at Cadiz, while the French moved freely over the rest of the Peninsular. At the former place Sir Home Popham directed the naval and General Walker the military operations under great difficulties, for no help could be obtained from the Spanish military authorities, and the Junta of Galicia was hopelessly corrupt. The English Government now wished to take possession of Santona, a town with a good winter harbour

¹ "Wellington Supplementary Despatches," vol. vi. p. 636.

which could have been stoutly defended. Wellington, however, strongly disadvised the project, and pointed out that even if the place could be secured, no force stationed there could move from it or effect any object without the assistance of the Spaniards, in whom he had entirely lost confidence. The town, therefore, was occupied by the French and strongly fortified.

1810.
Novem-
ber.

Marshal Bessières was now ordered by Napoleon to take command of the whole force acting in the north of Spain, which numbered 70,000 men. In the centre of the country was the army under Joseph which numbered 27,000 men, and both protected Madrid and punished the guerillas of the interior.

Massena and Wellington still played a waiting game. The former hoped for reinforcements, and the latter intended to force his adversary out of Portugal by operating on his flanks and rear, and not to attack him in the strong position he had assumed. The Government at home were greatly cheered by the victory of Busaco, and Liverpool ceased to devise schemes for withdrawing the army. Instead, he wisely left it to the discretion of Wellington when to attack Massena, and gave him permission, if the French army withdrew from Cadiz, to order General Graham to join him with the whole of his force except about 1200 men.

General Foy had travelled to France to ask Napoleon for reinforcements, but the Emperor, thinking already of war with Russia, was busy in Paris, and would not heed the request. He, however, directed Joseph to advance to Alcantara, and sent orders to Soult to retire from Cadiz. Soult obeyed unwillingly, and leaving the city on December 21st with 20,000 men marched along the south of the Tagus with the hope of communicating with Massena.

Meanwhile Alexander and Napoleon were slowly becoming estranged. It seems as though the Czar had never complete faith in the Emperor, and acted at Erfurt not as a trusting ally, but in the manner which he thought would be most beneficial to his country. At Tilsit, however, he was undoubtedly strongly affected by the peculiar power which Napoleon exerted over others. Alexander's aspirations lay in the near East, but he knew that England would oppose

1810.
Decem-
ber.

him there if possible. He was therefore ready to join in the Continental system,¹ with the object presumably of weakening British resistance. The Court and Ministers of Russia were strongly anti-French,² and Alexander himself confessed to Czartoryski that he thought Napoleon was a man who would not scruple to use any means to gain his end, and that all his acts, even his fits of passion, were the result of cool calculation.³

Alexander was very displeased with the manner his ally conducted his marital negotiations and was dissatisfied with his policy in Poland, while Napoleon on his part complained that English goods were being imported into Russia in neutral ships. In December 1810 both the allies broke the Treaty of Tilsit; Napoleon annexed the north sea coast of Germany, including Oldenburg, and Alexander declined to admit land-borne goods any longer from France on the easy terms agreed upon. He did, indeed, excuse himself on the ground that the country could not afford to do so, but this did not satisfy Napoleon, who at length began to realise that his ally was not the innocent dupe he imagined. The possibility of war with Russia was therefore in the mind of the Emperor, and he left the task of reducing the Peninsular to his generals.

The British Government were kept well informed by their spies of the diplomatic relationship between the allies, and also of the internal affairs of France. At this time, one of Napoleon's generals, dissatisfied with his treatment and anxious to avenge himself, applied to be naturalised and given work in England. This officer, named Sarrazin, had been on Napoleon's staff, and had been employed as a general officer, as an engineer, and in other capacities. In July Lord Elgin wrote suggesting that he should be encouraged to tell all ^{he} knew, and Sarrazin therefore gave very full information of

¹ Napoleon at this time was so convinced that England would be ruined by his Continental system, that he did not devote much attention to her efforts in the Peninsular. Still he complained of the inaction of his generals in Spain in very bitter terms. "Correspondence," vol. xxi.

² "Romanoff and Arachioheff are the only persons not hostile to the views of France." October 20, 1809. F. O. Records, Russia, 75.

³ Czartoryski Mems., vol. ii. ch. xvii., quoted from "Life of Napoleon I.," Holland Rose, vol. ii. p. 232.

the French army and the movements of Napoleon, and described accurately the defenceless state of the coast of France. He stated that there were not more than 200,000 French in Spain, and drew up plans for driving them from the Peninsular, which, with cheerful optimism, he considered might be effected in four months.¹ He also suggested an attack on the coast of France, and, leaving the realms of military matters, invented a scheme for bringing about a new coalition of the Powers.

1810.
May.

Napoleon had persuaded himself that his Continental system had already seriously affected the wealth of Great Britain, and hoped that in a short time the nation would be denuded of gold and forced to make peace on his terms; but the gloomy statements of the financial condition of the country at this date, so freely indulged in abroad and by some at home, were, however, not justified by the actual facts, which were ably placed before the House of Commons by the Chancellor of the Exchequer on May 16, 1810. They show that the effects of the Continental system on British trade were very small indeed, and it is therefore obvious that the state of the currency and not the condition of trade was the chief cause of the difficulty of obtaining specie to send to Wellington. The official value of the imports for 1809 was over £36,000,000, while in 1802, the year of peace, it was only about £31,000,000. The exports of British manufacture in 1809 valued over £35,000,000, as opposed to about £28,000,000 in 1802. The exports of foreign manufactured goods certainly decreased, but the increase in the value of the total exports was over £4,000,000.² Further evidence of the prosperity of the country was furnished by the fact that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had no difficulty in raising a loan of £12,000,000 at £4, 4s. 3½d. per cent., although the rate of legal interest was £5 per cent. Nor did the Opposition attempt to argue that there was any cause to expect a financial catastrophe, and Mr. Huskisson stated that "he thought the country was in a state of progressive

¹ F. O. Records, France, 83. Sarrazin proposed to form the whole of the Spanish and Portuguese adult male population (about 1,400,000) into regular armies.

² "Parliamentary Debates," vol. xvi. p. 1055.

1810. improvement,"¹ while Mr. Rose opined that "from the in-
May. dustry and ingenuity of our merchants every prohibitory
measure of Bonaparte's had utterly failed of their object."

Bonaparte's system did not, indeed, affect the prosperity of the country to any great extent, but trade was seriously hampered by the state of the currency. For some time England had lost 15 to 20 per cent. in her exchanges in foreign markets, and gold coins were becoming very scarce in the circulating medium. The price of gold had risen from £3, 17s. per oz. in bank notes to £4, 12s., and a large and distressing rise had taken place in the price of all commodities. A motion was therefore brought before the House by Mr. Horner for a return of the imports and exports of bullion and foreign coins, of the amount of bank notes and dollars, of the number of licences to country bankers, and an account of the quantity of gold and silver exported by the East India Company to China and the East Indies. A Committee was thereupon appointed with Mr. Horner as chairman, which after hearing much evidence reported to the House the day before it was prorogued. It concluded that a "general rise of all prices, a rise in the market price of gold, and a fall of the foreign exchanges, will be the effect of an excessive quantity of circulating medium in a country which has adopted a currency not exportable to other countries, or not convertible at will into a coin that is convertible."² The Committee did not consider that this proved any want of credit or confidence in the funds of the Bank of England, but was entirely due to overissue of notes, and could only suggest as a remedy the repeal of the law which had suspended cash payments. They were well aware of the dangers and difficulties of taking this step, and suggested that the manner of resuming payment in gold should be left to the discretion of the bank directors, and should not be carried out at once, but after a period of at least two years from that date. The substance of this report was circulated in the newspapers on September 20th, and caused some alarm among financiers, manufacturers, and merchants, who feared the bank would be unable to discount their bills. Many failures of

¹ "Parliamentary Debates," vol. xvi. p. 1057.

² *Annual Register*, 1810, p. 127.

merchants and country banks followed, which were partly due to this fear. The Government therefore took no steps to reintroduce cash payments, and no change was made until several years after this date. 1810.
May.

Legislation this year was unimportant. Mr. Grattan's motion for a Committee on the Catholic Petitions was negatived;¹ the Insurrection Act for Ireland was repealed, and some alteration was made in the general criminal laws of the United Kingdom.

The Spanish American colonies, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, and Chili, at first sympathised with the Mother Country, although the colonists had been insulted and oppressed. Their commerce was restricted, they could not freely cultivate the soil, and they were excluded from all places of profit and power. Nevertheless, when they heard of the invasion of Spain they manifested extreme ardour against France. When, however, the central Junta was formed and the powerful tie of monarchy was abolished, insurrections at once broke out under leaders who wished for complete independence. The Regency in Cadiz endeavoured to pacify the revolted Colonies by removing the restrictions on foreign trade, but when the merchants of Cadiz strongly objected that they were adversely affected, the new laws were revoked and force was tried instead. The revolutionists were proclaimed to be traitors, and the ports of the province of Caracas were declared to be in a state of blockade. As this latter provision could not be enforced, the colonists were not very alarmed or disturbed. King Joseph next attempted to woo the Spanish Americans, and sent out an emissary, who was promptly hanged.² The Regency then issued stern orders not to admit any one without their passports, and as local Juntas were formed by the colonists, it was considered necessary for the British Government to make some declaration of policy. Lord Liverpool therefore wrote to the Governor of Curaçoa, Brigadier-General Lidyard, that it was the object of his Majesty to second the efforts of the Spanish people to maintain the independence of their

¹ "Parliamentary Debates," vol. xvii. p. 304. On a division the numbers were: Ayes, 109; Noes, 213.

² *Annual Register*, 1810, p. 229.

1810 monarchy in all parts of the world, and to discourage every step tending to separate the Colonies from the parent country, but if Spain were compelled to submit to a foreign yoke, then Great Britain would help the Colonies separate themselves from French Spain.

Meanwhile friction was increasing between the United States and England. The American Government were anxious that the trade restrictions enforced by the Orders in Council of 1807 should be removed, and the President stated that his country would side with either France or England if one of them restored freedom of commerce and discontinued its aggressions on neutrals. An attack made by a British warship on an American frigate, the *Chesapeake*, and the removal therefrom of sailors, was another sore grievance. In order to conciliate the country, Canning, in 1809, drew up two separate sets of instructions, one offering satisfaction for the attack on the *Chesapeake*, and the other arranging a treaty of amity and commerce between the two nations. These were sent to Mr. Erskine, the British envoy, who, being very anxious to arrange a satisfactory truce with the United States, at once wrote to Mr. R. Smith, the confidential Minister of the President, and stated that "His Majesty would be willing to withdraw his Orders in Council of January and November 1807, so far as respects the United States, in the persuasion that the President would issue a proclamation for the renewal of the intercourse with Great Britain." This suggestion, which required no concession on the part of the United States, was promptly acted upon, and in a proclamation, dated the 19th of April 1809, the President permitted the renewal of trade with Great Britain. Hundreds of shippers and merchants at once poured into England. The Government then found that Mr. Erskine had by no means carried out their instructions, and thereupon recalled him and disavowed the agreement, but carefully arranged that no loss should accrue to the American traders. Mr. Jackson was sent in his place to endeavour to arrange terms, but was received with marked disfavour by the American Government, who ordered their Minister in London to demand his recall. Although this was agreed to, Lord Wellesley distinctly stated that he

did not consider the envoy had committed any intentional offence against the Government of the United States. Thus ended another attempt to arrive at an understanding with the American nation.

1810.
Decem-
ber.

The King had lately been overshadowed with trouble. The failure of the Walcheren Expedition and the disgrace of Lord Chatham, the unpleasant exposure of the Duke of York's conduct, and his resignation as Commander-in-Chief, and an attempt on the life of the Duke of Cumberland, under somewhat peculiar circumstances, had all seriously disturbed him. These troubles, however, paled before the sorrow caused by the illness of his favourite daughter, the Princess Amelia, a woman whose charm and grace had won for her high esteem. In the old castle by the river all was anxiety and misery. The King, with somewhat singular insight as to his future fate, began to recount his past illnesses, their causes and their duration, and seemed to realise that he was on the verge of another attack of mania. At first the shock of her death seemed to stimulate the enfeebled mental power to renewed effort, for he manifested the greatest interest in directing the details of her funeral and testamentary bequests. Then he speedily relapsed into a condition of absolute irresponsibility. The physicians were doubtful how long the seizure would last, and gave no hope that he would be restored to health for some months. It was therefore resolved in December that it was the duty of Parliament to supply the deficiency in the Crown by a Regent.

CHAPTER XXVI

The Prince of Wales—The Regency Bill—Weakness of the Government—The Continental system—Napoleon at the zenith of his fame—Condition of Prussia—Secret Prussian societies—Alexander enraged with Napoleon—Austrian opinion still uncertain—Russia violates the Continental system—Alexander approaches Prussia—Sweden breaks away from France—Position of French armies in Spain—Siege of Badajoz by the French—Battle of Barosa—Retreat of Massena—Battles of Fuentes Onoro and Albuera—King Joseph leaves Madrid—Napoleon proposes to visit Spain—Battle of Elbodo—Wellington goes into winter quarters.

1811. THE early political opinions of the Prince of Wales were imbibed chiefly from Fox and the Whigs, for he was always more influenced by his personal friendships than by any definite principles. When he reached the age of thirty-five in 1797, he was still strongly in favour of Catholic emancipation, and wrote to Pitt: "I feel myself called upon to declare my decided opinion that no time ought to be lost in repealing every exclusive restriction and disqualification on the Irish Roman Catholics."¹ He always had a firm regard for Pitt, and six years later announced that he intended to employ him as Minister when he ascended the throne, although he admitted that he had thought of Lord Moira and then of Fox as possible substitutes. This extraordinary statement was communicated to Pitt indirectly and thus called for no reply.

Neither Pitt nor Fox indeed attached any importance to the political opinions of the Prince, but the latter joined him in his dissipations, and was very friendly until 1805. Soon after the first signs of a change appeared, and after the old warmth of feeling had cooled, the Prince lost his ardour for the principles of the Whigs. His attitude towards the Catholic question indeed entirely changed, and not only did he now oppose all concessions vigorously, but seemed greatly relieved at the downfall of the Ministry of "all the talents." For the next year or two he stood

¹ "Life of George IV.," Percy Fitzgerald, vol. i. p. 298.

aloof from the parties, and as he had not won the confidence of Mr. Perceval and the Tories, they were not disposed to give him the full royal prerogative now that a Regency was inevitable. In this the Government were supported by the Queen.

1811.
January.

The Regency question had been fully debated in 1788 during the King's illness, and it was then decided by Pitt and the Tories that, if the King's malady continued, the Prince of Wales should be made Regent with a limited royal power. Perceval adopted this principle, and suggested that the Prince should not be permitted to create Peers, to grant pensions, or to touch the King's property, which was to be placed in the hands of trustees, and that the care of the King's person should be entrusted to the Queen and a council. These restrictions were very distasteful to the Prince and to all of his royal brothers, who wrote to Perceval to that effect. The chief statement in the letter was as follows: "To enter our solemn protest against measures that we consider as perfectly unconstitutional, as they are contrary to, and subversive of, the principles which seated our family upon the throne of these realms."¹

The Opposition also were not in favour of limiting the powers of the Regent, for they hoped that Grenville and Grey would be called to office, and thus had no wish to curtail the power which would be wielded by themselves. They therefore proposed on December 31st that there should be no restrictions, and were defeated by only twenty-four votes.² On the following day the Government motion to entrust the Royal household to the Queen was not accepted, and it was decided to concede to her only the management of the officials necessary for the care of the King's person.³

Addresses were now presented to the Prince from the two Houses of Parliament requesting him to accept the Regency with these limitations. Not knowing how to act, he took the

¹ A protest was also entered in the journals of the House of Lords, signed by the Royal Dukes and other Peers (twenty-one in all). In this it was suggested that the precedent of 1688 should be followed, namely: "An address to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to take upon him the civil and military administration of affairs and the disposal of the public revenue." Hansard, vol. xviii. p. 802.

² Ibid., p. 548.

³ Ibid., p. 598.

1811.
February.

curious step of asking Lords Grenville and Grey to draw up a reply. The Opposition leaders could not, however, now agree, for Lord Grenville had been in Pitt's Cabinet when the principle of restricted power was formulated in 1788, whereas Lord Grey had always opposed the Tory Government. The result was that the reply prepared by them was so unsatisfactory to the Prince that he requested his friend Sheridan to criticise it. This he did, and returned the copy with witty marginal notes and suggestions added which entirely altered its character. The Whig Lords strongly resented this interference, and as they did not hesitate to say so, the Prince, rendered sensitive by the lack of confidence in him, became greatly embittered. Mrs. Fitzherbert and Lady Hertford, to whom he spoke openly on most important affairs of State, and who were opposed to the Whigs, now by a judicious mixture of flattery and persuasion induced him to retain the present Ministers. The strong argument was advanced also by the Queen and his brothers, that the King might at any moment recover and would be seriously upset at any change in the Administration. The Prince therefore wrote ungraciously to Perceval on February 4th, that it was "his intention not to remove from their stations those whom he finds there as his Majesty's official servants," and continued, that "the irresistible impulse of filial duty and affection to his beloved and afflicted father leads him to dread that any act of the Regent might in the smallest degree have the effect of interfering with the progress of the Sovereign's recovery. This consideration alone dictates the decision now communicated to Mr. Perceval."¹

The Bill limiting the power of the Regent was passed on February 5th, but its provisions were only to be in force for one year, at the end of which period he was to be permitted to wield the full power of Sovereign. This decision was undoubtedly popular in the Press, for the *Times*, *Courier*, and *Sun* supported the Ministers, whereas the *Morning*

¹ In the answer of the Prince of Wales to the Address of both Houses, he states: "I do not hesitate to accept the office and situation proposed to me, restricted as they are, still retaining every opinion expressed by me upon a former and similar distressing occasion." "Parliamentary Debates," vol. xviii. p. 811.

Chronicle only was in favour of the Opposition proposals and supported the protest of the Royal Dukes. 1811.

At this period England was governed by perhaps the weakest Administration that has ever succeeded to power. The members of it were deficient in political talent and were paralysed by internal discord. It was therefore impossible to hope that any strong action would be taken either at home or abroad. Wellesley was the only able man in the Cabinet, and endeavoured to support his brother's efforts in the Peninsular. Lord Liverpool continually grumbled at the expense of the loan, and only tardily despatched reinforcements. Lord Palmerston, now Under-Secretary, endeavoured to effect some reforms in the War Office, but the weight of influence and precedent, which necessarily bears more heavily upon that department than on any other in the public service, was too great for him to move alone.

The diplomatic corps, on the other hand, was in a high state of efficiency, and sent excellent reports of the great changes of opinion which were now taking place in St. Petersburg and Berlin. A very favourable opportunity was neglected, for although only a small part of the regular army was actually engaged in the Peninsular, and the whole fleet was available either for operations against the coasts of France, or for supporting North Germany in her efforts to throw off the Continental system, no attempt was made to combine the Powers or to give them aid.

Napoleon clung firmly to his commercial system, although everywhere evidence was accumulating of its failure.¹ British goods were being freely imported into the Peninsular, and were extensively smuggled into North Germany and Russia. France itself was suffering so severely that the illogical practice was now adopted by the Government of secretly selling licences to merchants to import forbidden goods. This was the very height of injustice, for the wealthy were thus enabled to purchase tobacco while the poor were denied even

¹ Napoleon to the Duke of Cadore, Foreign Minister at Paris: "Il faut, par insinuations et par tous les moyens possibles, empêcher le commerce anglais; avoir à ce sujet des correspondances suivies avec nos consuls et instruire de tout ce qui est relatif à ce point." *Correspondance*, vol. xxii. p. 30.

1811.
March.

their coffee and sugar. Nevertheless, great numbers in France favoured a prohibitive tariff on Lancashire cottons, while the silk industry of Lyons flourished exceedingly. A further accession of strength was now afforded to the new dynasty, for a son was born to the Emperor on March 20th. He received the title of King of Rome, and it appeared that the ambition of the Emperor to establish an hereditary line of monarchs was gratified. It was arranged that the future Emperors were to be crowned both at Paris and Rome, and in order to prevent any dispute with the Pope, the Papacy was annexed, and the pontiff bidden to maintain two palaces out of Imperial funds, one at Paris and the other at Rome.

Again the imagination of Napoleon revels in pictures of a descent on the English coast, again he orders dockyards and ships to be hastily completed,¹ and again he finds the difficulties insuperable and postpones the scheme. Nothing, however, could prevent his thoughts constantly straying towards the East, and he hoped that the condition of Turkey would one day enable him to recover Egypt. Nor did the Cape of Good Hope fail to attract his attention. He dreamed of conquering continents; he was soon to find himself a prisoner on a tiny island. Still, if the magnitude of his ambitions rendered their fulfilment impossible, his plans were based on sound logic. If the Czar could not be dissuaded from interfering with the French designs on Egypt, and intended to unite his weight with England, then it was absolutely essential he should be crushed. A war with Russia was thus a part of this colossal scheme.² It soon appeared that Prussia would once more be the unfortunate buffer between the two great Powers. Early in January

¹ He also had hopes that the Irish would afford help to him: "Cette côte sera donc menacée par 80,000 hommes embarqués; ce qui, joint aux mesures politiques que je prends pour nourrir un parti en Irlande, aura des résultats satisfaisants."—Napoleon to Count Decres, Minister of War at Paris June 19, 1811. *Correspondance*, vol. xxii. p. 259. See also a letter to General Clarke, Minister of War, instructing him to see O'Connor and the other Irishmen in Paris. *Ibid.*, pp. 298 and 472.

² On April 5th Napoleon writes to Champagny, Minister for Foreign Affairs at Paris, that he will not tolerate Russia establishing herself on the right bank of the Danube or violating the Treaty of Tilsit by approaching England. *Correspondance*, vol. xxii. p. 28

Hardenberg thus expressed himself to the British Minister, Mr. Galway Mills. The King and he himself thought that the Emperor of Russia has "but one opinion respecting the enemy, and only waits for a favourable opportunity to act. In the event, however, of a reluctance on the part of Austria and of a declaration of war by Napoleon against the Emperor of Russia, the King of Prussia will, I fear, be forced to march in appearance and make common cause with France, but rely upon it his Majesty will never strike a blow against Russia."¹ Hardenberg also stated that he knew societies of affiliation had been formed, but thought that partial insurrections would only increase their disasters. He realised that to be successful whole nations must rise, and that "by the people uniting with their Governments can Germany alone be delivered from her present state of disgraceful bondage." To add to the trouble it was necessary to adopt a new scheme of finance in order to pay the heavy contributions to France and to raise revenue. The King therefore summoned deputies from each of the provinces in order to arrange the new scheme and to modify it when necessary in order to render it compatible with the provincial constitutions. He could not, however, choose between his rival neighbours, who were wooing him one day with threats and another with promises. The position of Hardenberg was thus rendered very insecure.

In March Mr. Mills wrote that Bonaparte was still endeavouring "to cajole the Emperor of Russia," and that he had been kept well informed of everything which was taking place at St. Petersburg by General Chitroff, until that indiscreet officer suddenly disappeared either to some fortress or to Siberia. Alexander was now "enraged at the gross infraction of the Treaty of Tilsit by his conduct to the Duke of Oldenburg, and was furious at the treachery of General Chitroff, and has vehemently insisted on the restoration of Oldenburg and the recall of Caulaincourt." It was also reported from Vienna that Metternich was not so devoted to Bonaparte as was imagined.²

Prussia was in a very unpleasant position. If France conquered Russia the eagle would speedily fix its talons on

¹ From Mr. Galway Mills, January 5, 1811. F. O. Records, Prussia, 83.

² Ibid., March 16, 1811. F. O. Records, Prussia, 83.

1811. the German lamb, whereas if Alexander were victorious the
May Russian bear had to be faced. Under these circumstances, if hostilities broke out, Hardenberg had decided to advise the King to comply with every demand of France.¹ In the meantime Napoleon did not hesitate to violate, in the grossest manner, the subsisting treaty between Prussia and France. The town of Drossen, on the frontier of Poland, was suddenly occupied by a French detachment, and when Hardenberg feebly protested, the French Ambassador would not give any explanation. Indeed, nothing seemed possible except to ask the price of Napoleon's friendship. The Prussian Court, therefore, offered an offensive and defensive alliance, and asked in return that the heavy contribution should be reduced and that the number of the military forces should no longer be restricted. Napoleon replied that he could not offend Russia by such an alliance. In June, indeed, he seems to have arrived almost at a friendly understanding with that Power. Alexander no longer insisted that Oldenburg should be restored, and agreed that instead the territories of the Grand Duke of Wurtzburg should be given to the Duke of Oldenburg as an indemnity, while Illyria, raised to the position of an independent sovereignty, should be presented to Wurtzburg in exchange. The Czar, however, stipulated that Russia should have one port open to British trade, and this Napoleon absolutely refused, and declared that he would sooner fight the whole of Europe than depart from his system.²

It is therefore just possible that Napoleon would have been willing to maintain peace with Russia, if the Czar had joined him in upholding his system against England, and that the disastrous campaign which followed was chiefly caused by the refusal of the small demand for one open port. Indeed, Napoleon himself stated to De Pradt, his

¹ From Mr. Galway Mills, May 28, 1811. F. O. Records, Prussia, 83.

² Ibid., June 8, 1811. Ibid. "General Lauriston appears to have perfectly succeeded in convincing the Emperor of Russia of the friendly disposition of Bonaparte, and the harmony so happily subsisting between the Courts of Petersburg and Paris will not in consequence suffer any interruption. . . . Prince Kourakine has orders to set forth the absolute necessity of having one Russian port open to British trade. Napoleon has answered that he would sooner fight the whole of Europe than depart from his system."

envoy at Warsaw, that Russia's lapse from the Continental system was the chief cause of war.¹ Still, if the designs of the French Emperor were ever to be realised, it was obvious that hostilities with Russia were sooner or later inevitable. There were many other excuses for warfare at this time. In August Napoleon unjustly accused the Russians of designs on Poland, and stated that he would not cede an inch of the Warsaw territory even if the Russian army "were encamped on Montmartre."² 1811.
June.

The Czar, realising that peace could not be preserved, now professed the greatest friendship for Frederick William, and declared that since the interests of Russia demanded the preservation of Prussia, he should regard any hostilities against that country as a declaration of war. He proposed to follow the example of Wellington in Portugal and lure the French into the deserts of Russia, towards entrenched camps which were to be formed at Pillau and Colberg, while Prussia acted the part of a second Spain. Austria did nothing, but promised not to aid France, and England offered money and arms and passively watched the signs of the gathering storm. Prussia proceeded to arm, and Napoleon opened negotiations in October. He demanded a strict observance of the Continental system, a levy of 20,000 men, a free passage for his troops in case of war with Russia, and two ships of the line and a frigate to use against England. The Prussian people were divided in opinion, but the majority appeared to be in favour of an alliance with Napoleon, so bitter were they against Russia. The feeling in the political and military services was very different. Stein, who was now residing in Bohemia, Scharnhorst, and Count Chasot were all strongly against any arrangement with France, and hoped to see war between Napoleon and Alexander. Nevertheless, in December the probability of an alliance between Prussia and France was notified to the English Government by Mr. Mills, who was informed that the Court of Berlin wished him to leave lest the French Ambassador should consider that he remained in the position of an English

¹ Holland Rose, "Life of Napoleon," vol. ii. p. 237, footnote.

² See Napoleon's letter to the Duke of Bassano, June 21, 1811. *Correspondance*, vol. xxii. p. 266.

1811. agent with the knowledge of the Prussian Government.¹
 June. Napoleon, indeed, knew well that when he pressed his demands home, the King would disregard the opinion of the patriots and immediately submit. In due course this happened, and Frederick William signed a treaty with Napoleon on February 24, 1812, granting all he asked. He had, indeed, no choice, for French armies were already on the march, and it was useless to attempt any resistance. Sweden was by no means so tractable, and when Napoleon demanded the enforcement of the Continental system under penalty of the occupation of Swedish Pomerania by French troops, Bernadotte at once negotiated with Alexander and offered his aid against France in return for the prospect of acquiring Norway. At the end of 1811 Alexander secretly admitted English goods into Russia and established himself strongly on the lower Danube, while Napoleon, deluding himself that the English were on the verge of bankruptcy and that the conquest of Spain was assured, prepared for the struggle with cheerful confidence.²

While the diplomatists had been fencing in Central Europe, hard fighting had been proceeding in the Peninsular.

Napoleon received very little information of the proceedings of his armies in Spain after Massena had crossed into Portugal, the first true accounts being carried to him by Foy when he was sent to ask for reinforcements. The Emperor then directed Massena to remain firm between Santarem and the Zezere, and ordered the army of the north to support him while Soult hastened to his assistance.³ He was, however, given permission to reduce the fortresses of Olivenza and Badajoz during the journey. A strong guard was left in Andalusia, and the expeditionary army consisting of 16,000 infantry, 4000 cavalry, and 54 guns was assembled on January 2, 1811.⁴ In spite of the great preparations made by Soult, the Spanish leaders in Cadiz remained quite ignorant of his intention; but Wellington guessed his

¹ From Mr. Galway Mills, December 14, 1811. F. O. Records, Prussia, 83.

² In November Napoleon accepted the proposition of the English to allow the importation of raw sugar in exchange for the exportation of wine. "Correspondence," vol. xxiii. p. 36.

³ Napoleon "Correspondence," vol. xvi. pp. 295, 367.

⁴ Napier's "History of the Peninsular War," vol. iii. p. 91.

plan, and advised that the bridges over the Guadiana should be mined for destruction, and the other passages disputed. 1811.
February.

Olivenza was invested on the 11th and surrendered ten days afterwards. Mendizabel, who succeeded Romana in the command in Estremadura, now, contrary to orders, shut himself up in Badajoz with 6000 men. Soult followed and commenced the siege vigorously. The Spanish general, therefore, left the town and pitched his camp round the heights of San Christoval. Here he might have held his own, but he neglected to follow the advice of Wellington and entrench himself. He was therefore in a weak position when the French attacked him on February 19th along his whole front and turned his left flank.¹ Mendizabel's troops now crowded together in the centre in disorder, and the light French cavalry broke through them closely followed by the infantry, who cleared the ground. The Spanish cavalry fled. Madden's Portuguese troops failed to support at the critical moment, and the whole affair ended in a disgraceful defeat. Mendizabel escaped with difficulty, and 3000 men reached Badajoz, but 8000, with guns, colours, ammunition, and baggage, fell into the hands of the enemy.² Next day the French threw up entrenchments and renewed the siege with greater activity; but although Mendizabel had lost so heavily the body of the place was still secure, and the garrison well provided with food.

Victor now invested Cadiz, while the Spanish Regency and Cortes within struggled for supremacy. Wellesley, hoping to effect some improvement in the Spanish army, proposed to represent its true condition clearly to the Cortes, although he was convinced that the Regents would have to be deposed before anything could be done.³ Now that Soult had departed and the 5th Corps had left Seville, Graham was in favour of immediate action, and undertook, in concert with the Spaniards, to force Victor from his position. He therefore formed a plan to sail to Tarifa and attack the rear of the enemy's camp at Chiclana, where the French numbered about 15,000 men. The allies under General La Pena

¹ Napier's "History of the Peninsular War," vol. iii. p. 97.

² Ibid., p. 98.

³ From Arthur Wellesley, February 27, 1811.

1811.
March.

moved, on February 27th, from Tarifa, and were joined by troops from Algeciras. Their force then numbered about 13,000 men, with twenty-four guns. On March 5th the heights of Barosa, which consisted of a ridge extending about one mile and a half from the coast, was reached after a continuous march of sixteen hours. Graham foolishly had ceded the chief command to La Pena, who, although the troops were exhausted, at once sent Lardizabel straight against the mouth of the Santi Petri. Here General Zayas, who was left in command of the Spanish forces on the Isla, had unsuccessfully endeavoured to place a bridge in position. The movement was therefore a very dangerous one, but after hard fighting a junction was effected. At the same time Graham was ordered to advance, leaving the ridge crowded with baggage and inefficiently protected.

Victor, perceiving this faulty move, at once attacked the reverse side of Barosa, and drove the rear-guard off the heights towards the sea. Graham quickly returned and attacked the key of the position, which was already in the hands of the enemy, with the whole of the British force. La Pena looked idly on, and not a single Spanish sabre was drawn to help the small band. A hand to hand conflict took place as the troops struggled up the hill, and the bayonets glittered dull in the flashes from the guns. In an hour and a half 1100 British were killed and wounded, and the French lost about double that number and six guns, before they were driven from the hill. Still La Pena failed to follow up this great advantage, and Graham, in disgust, withdrew his troops into Cadiz.¹

The siege of Badajoz continued, and no advantage could be gained by the enemy. Provisions were plentiful, 8000 men held the place, and the relieving force was close at hand, when the gallant governor, Menacho, was killed in a sally. He was succeeded by a weak coward named Imas, who at once asked for terms, and surrendered the place on March 2nd to the French.

Soult had now captured four fortresses and invested a fifth, had killed or dispersed ten thousand men, and taken double that number of prisoners. Still he was alarmed at

¹ Napier's "History of the Peninsular War," vol. iii. p. 105.

the result of the battle of Barosa, and returned to Andalusia.¹ 1811.
It was indeed becoming apparent that the French were not March.
able to hold their ground. The position of Massena was now very perilous, food was scarce, sickness and discontent were rife among the troops, and his generals were not working in harmony. He had to choose between awaiting the help of Soult and retreating; but while the former might be delayed indefinitely, the latter became daily more necessary. On March 5th, therefore, he fell back from Santarem upon Torres Nevas and Thomar. Next day the English army started in pursuit in three columns, the left following the great Coimbra road, the centre that leading to Pombal, while the right kept the highway to Espinal. Ney had charge of the rear-guard, and found it necessary to halt on the 10th on a height behind Pombal and throw a detachment into the castle. The light division at once drove them out so quickly that they had not time to destroy the bridge, although it was already mined. Two days later Ney made another stand, on a table-land before the village of Redinha, and Wellington, deceived as to his true strength, advanced his army of 30,000 men in three grand lines of battle against the position. Ney had no intention of awaiting for an attack from such numbers, and after firing one volley at the approaching host, ordered a retreat. At once the French obeyed, and just reached the village before they were overtaken by Picton's cavalry, who were thundering close behind.² A determined stand was next made at Andeixa, where the road was blocked by felled trees and the village itself fired, but the British troops pressed forward vigorously and overcame the obstacles so quickly that Massena himself was obliged to take the feathers out of his hat and ride through the light troops in order to prevent recognition and capture.³ Ney, with great gallantry, disputed the road foot by foot, fighting at Casal Nova and Fos D'Arconce; but the victorious troops would not be denied, and at length Massena was driven over the Alva, while the faithful Ney remained to the last with the rear-guard to cover the retreat of his chief.

¹ Napier's "History of the Peninsular War," vol. iii. p. 109.

² *Ibid.*, p. 117.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 119.

1811.
March.

Every horror incident to warfare attended this terrible retreat. Villages, houses, convents, and churches were ruthlessly destroyed or burnt, while the path of the army was strewn with hundreds of fugitives dying of wounds, fatigue, and starvation. These terrors drove the Portuguese into the arms of the British, and much useful information was conveyed by the peasants and monks to Wellington.¹ As Badajoz had surrendered, and Lisbon was therefore uncovered, Wellington now despatched Cole's division to the Alentejo, in order to help Beresford retake the fortress, while he continued in pursuit of the main body. Massena hastily fell back, and the condition of the Ceira, now heavily in flood, kept the allies inactive the next day. On the 17th a raft was, however, fashioned, upon which three divisions crossed during the night. Massena was still loath to leave Portuguese soil, and it required a heavy engagement on the right bank of the Coa at Sabugal to force him over the frontier. Thus the second invasion of Portugal came to an inglorious end on April 3rd with a loss to the French of 30,000 men.

Meanwhile Beresford had arrived at Portalegre with 20,000 infantry, 2000 cavalry, and 18 guns, with instructions to relieve Campo Mayor and to besiege Olivença and Badajoz. Campo Mayor had fallen on March 21st, and the plan was now to surprise and recapture the place. Beresford discovered the enemy on the 24th about one league from the town, with four regiments of cavalry, the 100th Regiment of infantry, and some horse artillery. General Long was directed to turn the enemy's right with his cavalry, and this he accomplished with such success that the French horsemen were completely routed and driven into Badajoz, a distance of two leagues, leaving 600 men and sixteen guns on the road.² Campo Mayor was thus recovered, and a fortnight later Olivença also surrendered after a short siege. Wellington now left his forces in order to invest Almeida, and arrived at Elvas on April 21st. He then crossed the Guadiana and pushed up close to Badajoz after Beresford, who was in command of 25,000 men.

¹ "Life of Wellington," Sir Herbert Maxwell, vol. i. p. 216.

² "Letter from Beresford to Wellington, March 26, 1811. "Supplementary Despatch," Napier, vol. vi. p. 89.

Marshal Bessières, having been commanded by Napoleon to co-operate with Massena, now tardily detached 1500 cavalry and six guns from the army of the north and sent them to his aid. Massena thus reinforced arrived at Ciudad Rodrigo and advanced thence to the relief of Almeida. This movement brought Wellington back at top speed, and although the French outnumbered his army by 7000 men, he determined to give battle. On May 5th the armies met at Fuentes Onoro, where a most severe engagement ensued in and about the village. Both sides claimed the victory, and at one time the allies were nearly beaten back; but the French made no demonstration on the next day and retired on the 8th.¹ Massena next ordered General Brennier to evacuate Almeida, and that officer, after destroying as much as possible of his works, sallied forth at midnight on the 10th, and escaped by the bridge of Barba del Puerco, which, owing to an error, had been left unguarded by Colonel Bevan.² 1811.
May.

Preparations were now hurried on for the first English siege of Badajoz, and the place was invested on May 25th by Beresford, who was, however, ill provided with the means to carry out his scheme successfully.³ In the meantime Soult hastened to relieve it with 18,000 troops, and it became necessary to raise the siege on June 12th. The allies then took up a position at Albuera, where one of the most severe battles of the whole campaign was fought on the 16th, between 30,000 allies, of whom, however, only 7000 were British infantry, and Soult's army of 23,000 veterans.

The position chosen was a ridge about four miles long, with the Albuera river and village in front, and the Aroya Val de Sevilla behind. Alten's German brigade occupied the village, and the bridge over the river was commanded by a battery. Behind these troops, the second division, under William Stewart, was in line, and to the left the Portuguese troops, under Hamilton and Collins, were stationed. The

¹ The loss of the allies was about 1500, that of the French 2500. "Life of Wellington," Maxwell, vol. i. p. 232.

² Wellington had sent orders that the 4th Regiment under Colonel Bevan should hold the bridge, but it appears these orders had not reached him.

³ The only guns he had were ancient brass guns and Portuguese ship cannon.

1811. best troops, under Blake, were placed on the right, as it
May. appeared to Beresford to be the key of the position. Between Beresford's right and Soult's left a hill was situated, which was occupied by the French troops during the night of the 15th. At nine in the morning Godinot attacked the bridge while Werlé attempted to turn the right flank. Beresford at once sent orders to Blake to change his front, but that general disobeyed orders, and it was not until the French were upon them that he consented to alter his dispositions. The situation was desperate, and to add to the confusion the Spaniards began to yield. Stewart mounted the hill in support, but was driven back by the French lancers, who were in turn checked by Houghton's brigade. All this time the guns were ceaselessly playing upon the hill, and a French column was established on the right flank. For a moment Beresford thought of retreat. Six guns were in the hands of the enemy, and Alten's Germans seemed to be in full retreat for the village. Cole saved the day. With a dashing charge he led his fusiliers up the hill and drove off the French lancers. The appearance of these fresh troops wrought astonishment and confusion among the French soldiers, and after one final discharge of grape they fled headlong down the slope and the battle was won.

Eighteen hundred unwounded British stood triumphant on the hill, which ought never to have been in the hands of the enemy at all. The neglect of Beresford to secure this important place at first had indeed cost him hundreds of lives, while the total casualties of the allies amounted to 7000 during the day. The troops were too exhausted to pursue, or indeed to face another encounter, and Beresford waited anxiously all the next day watching the enemy. Soult, who had lost about a thousand more men than Beresford, had no intention of risking another battle, and retreated on the 18th to Solano. This removed the tension, and Hamilton was therefore detached and directed to resume the siege of Badajoz.

These series of victories gave the greatest satisfaction at home. The Government, who had been urging Wellington to confine his warfare to Portugal, now voted him thanks, and left it to his discretion to undertake such operations in

Spain as he considered were best calculated to bring the war to a close;¹ while Lord Wellesley wrote to his brother in Cadiz instructing him to propose to the Spanish that Wellington should have the military command of Galicia, Asturias, Estremadura, and such other districts contiguous to the Portuguese frontier as he should think fit to specify.² 1811. July.

Napoleon, on the other hand, was greatly annoyed at the ill success of his troops, and enraged at the manner in which they had been commanded. Massena was recalled in disgrace after the battle of Fuentes Onoro, and his command was given to Marshal Marmont, who was instructed to go into cantonments at Salamanca.³ King Joseph, who was tired of being a royal puppet, with neither money nor power, now made a formal renunciation of his crown, left Madrid with 5000 men, and returned to Paris with the object of retiring into private life. Napoleon was furious, and at once ordered him to return, but gave him some control over the French army.⁴

Wellington now hoped to capture Badajoz before Soult was strong enough to return to its relief. The place was invested on May 25th, and fire was opened a week later from a miscellaneous collection of ancient ordnance and ships' cannon brought from the coast which were the best weapons to hand. Ten days later Wellington heard that Marmont was moving to co-operate with Soult, and fearing for the safety of Elvas, he raised the siege and assembled his army in Albuera. For three weeks the two armies faced each other inactive, then on July 14th Marmont retired into cantonments north of the Tagus and Soult withdrew to Andalusia. Wellington did not make a further attempt on Badajoz, as the climate there was notoriously unhealthy in the hot weather; and as he did not wish to leave his base and follow Soult, the allied army was led across the Tagus at Villa Velha, and arrived on the Coa on August 8th. The blockade of Ciudad Rodrigo was at once commenced, but no attempt was made to besiege it, for Wellington knew

¹ Liverpool to Wellington, May 29, 1811.

² Lord Wellesley to Sir Henry Wellesley, April 18, 1811.

³ Napoleon "Correspondence," vol. xxii, p. 191.

⁴ On May 27th he was given supreme command of the army of the centre.

1811, July. that the force of the army of the north comprised 20,000 good troops, and that these joined to Marmont's force constituted an army too strong to be attacked. Wellington indeed had with him now only 44,000 men of all arms, while the British military chest was empty and the disputes with the Portuguese Government were more acrimonious than ever. In Cadiz also the English were growing very unpopular, as the Spaniards now thought that they only intended to protect Portugal.

While matters were in this unsatisfactory condition Wellington learned from intercepted letters that Napoleon intended to march into the Peninsular himself, and this idea was confirmed by the assembling of an army of reserve in France and by the formation of great magazines.¹ There seems to be considerable doubt in the minds of historians whether Napoleon ever really intended to visit the Peninsular, or "whether he only intended to spread the report with a view to restrain the allies from any offensive operations during the summer, and to mislead the English Cabinet as to the real state of his negotiations with Russia, intending if the latter proved favourable to turn his whole force against the Peninsular."² It is undoubtedly the fact that the Emperor did not relax his preparations for the invasion of Russia throughout the year. We have, however, found evidence in our Records that in June the Courts of St. Petersburg and Paris almost arrived at an agreement to their mutual satisfaction. It is therefore possible that Napoleon in reality meditated a descent into the Peninsular.³ Wellington, knowing nothing of the Emperor's intentions, thought that he might appear in person and force him to retreat, and therefore ordered the lines of Torres Vedras to be strengthened, and the bridges and roads which were broken during Massena's invasion to be repaired.

¹ Napoleon "Correspondence," vol. xxii. pp. 122, 152, 202, 210, 226, 233.

² Napier's "History of the Peninsular War," vol. xi. p. 286.

³ On June 8, 1811, Mr. Galway Mills, Minister at Berlin, thus wrote to the Foreign Secretary: "General Lauriston appears to have perfectly succeeded in convincing the Emperor of Russia of the friendly disposition of Bonaparte, and the harmony so happily subsisting between the Courts of St. Petersburg and Paris will not in consequence suffer any interruption." F. O. Records, Prussia, 83. Napier's "History of the Peninsular War," vol. xi. p. 286.

Ciudad Rodrigo had now been blockaded for six weeks, and was short of food. Marmont therefore recalled Dorsenne from Galicia, as he preferred to leave that province rather than let slip the opportunity to attack the allies with vastly superior numbers and thus to relieve the fortress. The two French generals met at Tamames with 60,000 men, against whom Wellington could only bring 40,000. On September 23rd the enemy advanced and a strong detachment communicated with the garrison; on the following day a convoy was introduced, while the allies took up a position at Elbodon in a somewhat dangerously extended line. The 3rd Division and some cavalry lay on the heights above Elbodon, and on their right was the Light Division with six guns and some horsemen, while at Espeja was the 6th Division under Graham, and Anson's brigade. Beyond him again was the Spanish guerilla chief, Don Julian Sanchez, who held the river banks. Next day at sunrise the cavalry of the Imperial Guard commenced the attack by driving in the outposts of the Light Division, while Montbrun crossed the Agueda and turned the position occupied by the allied centre with his cavalry. They were, however, forced back by the 1st Hussars and the 11th Light Dragoons. Montbrun now brought his artillery forward and succeeded in capturing four guns from the Portuguese, but with marvellous valour the 2nd battalion of the 5th Regiment fixed bayonets and charged the cavalry and guns so violently that they were forced to relinquish their prize.

Numbers, however, began to tell, and Wellington, perceiving that it was useless to prolong the combat, instructed Picton, who was in the village below, to retire, and soon afterwards ordered a general retreat. This was carried out in perfect order, the infantry repeatedly forming squares to repel the charges of the French cavalry. General Crauford with the Light Division was, however, very slow to obey the command, and was for a time isolated on the farther bank of the Agueda. Fortunately Marmont missed his opportunity, and the division marched safely into line on the afternoon of the 25th. Wellington now resumed his retreat and took up a strong position in front of the Coa near the village of Soita. Marmont did not follow, as he was short of provisions,

1811.
July.

1811.
Septem-
ber.

- . and retired to his former position near Talavera, while Dorsenne marched off to Salamanca. When these movements were known the Light Division with some cavalry resumed the blockade of Ciudad Rodrigo in order to keep a large body of the enemy on the frontier, while the rest of the army was placed in cantonments on the Coa, with headquarters at Freneda.

CHAPTER XXVII

Changes in the Ministry—Lord Liverpool Prime Minister—Wellington's dash on Ciudad Rodrigo—The town captured—Third English siege of Badajoz—Surrender of the garrison—Distribution of the French troops in Spain—A new Regency established—Wellington orders a general advance—Battle of Salamanca—The allies enter Madrid—Attack on Burgos—The siege raised—Wellington retreats across the Douro—Condition of Prussia—Napoleon endeavours to secure Austria as an ally—The rival Emperors—Army for invasion of Russia assembles—The Russians fall back—Congress of Abo—Battle of Borodina—Moscow reached—Napoleon sues for an armistice, but is refused—The retreat from Moscow—Alexander approaches the Austrian Court.

IN February 1812 the restrictions placed on the Regent 1812. lapsed, and again the Prince attempted to induce the Whig Lords to form a coalition Ministry. He was unsuccessful, but some changes were made. Wellesley, the ablest man in the Cabinet, retired because his colleagues would not make sufficient effort in Spain, and Castlereagh became Foreign Secretary, while Sidmouth presided over the Council.¹ No sooner had the Government settled down again in harness than Mr. Perceval was assassinated (May 11th) by a lunatic named Bellingham. Both Wellesley and Canning were now offered places, and when they refused to serve with Castlereagh were asked to form an Administration with Lords Grenville and Grey. This was manifestly impossible, as the Whigs objected to the Peninsular war. The two peers then tried to fashion a purely Whig Ministry, and broke down because they disagreed with Lord Moira on the household appointments. The Regent, disgusted with the quarrels of

¹ "Spain was the main point. He also disapproved of the obstinate adherence to the Orders in Council and the policy towards America and of the policy in Sicily." Memorandum by Colonel Meyrick Shawe, a confidential friend of Lord Wellesley. "Wellington Supplementary Despatches," vol. vii. p. 257. On hearing of Wellesley's resignation Wellington wrote as follows: "I am not a competent judge of the resources of the British Empire, but I am convinced that if Great Britain had carried on the war in the Peninsula with the same generosity, not to say profusion of supply, with which other wars had been supplied, matters would now have been in a very different state." "Wellington Supplementary Despatches," vol. vii. p. 307.

1812.
January.

his friends, next asked Lord Liverpool to carry on the Government with the old Ministry. Castlereagh therefore remained at the Foreign Office, and Bathurst became responsible for the conduct of the war in the place of Lord Liverpool.

During the winter, Wellington, past-master in the art of effecting military surprises, secretly matured a plan for a sudden dash at Ciudad Rodrigo. Napoleon at the same time remodelled the French armies. Marshal Victor was recalled to France with his reputation tarnished, and the army of the south was reorganised. The army of the north, reduced in numbers, was ordered to occupy the districts round St. Ander, Sebastian, Burgos, and Pampeluna; and General Dorsenne was replaced by General Caffarelli. In all, not less than 60,000 soldiers were withdrawn from the Peninsular, including the Imperial Guards and several of the best troops.¹ Marmont was ordered to abandon the valley of the Tagus and fix his headquarters at Valladolid or Salamanca, and was also given the command of Ciudad Rodrigo and the Asturias.² The French armies were thus spread over an immense tract of country, and were everywhere fully occupied. Under these circumstances Wellington prepared an attack on Ciudad. He suddenly marched 35,000 allies across a trestle bridge thrown over the river at Marialva, near the confluence of the Azava with the Agueda, a point six miles below Ciudad. In addition to the old Spanish works, the French had strengthened the place by fortifying two convents which existed there, and by constructing a redoubt upon the greater Teson Hill. The garrison, however, only numbered 1800 men. On January 8th the Light Division and Pack's Portuguese forded the Agueda near Caridad, and took up a position on the great Teson Hill, near the works of the French, who, mistaking the English for a reconnoitring party, saluted and chaffed them.³ They were soon disillusioned, for during the night Colonel Colborne of the 52nd, with ten companies, stormed the redoubt, and after a short, stubborn fight, turned

¹ "Correspondence" of Napoleon, December 30, 1811, vol. xxiii. pp. 136 to 140.

² Napier's "History of the Peninsular War," vol. xi. p. 340.

³ "Life of Wellington," Maxwell, vol. i. p. 249.

out the garrison and took them prisoners.¹ Parties were now ordered to work on the right of the fort and convert it into part of the first parallel, which at daybreak was 600 yards in length, three feet deep, and four feet wide. During the next few days shot and shell rained continuously into the works, and so inconvenienced the besiegers that Wellington determined it must cease. For this purpose he ordered that the two fortified convents, from which most of the firing proceeded, should be taken by assault. On the night of the 13th one of the buildings was captured by the Germans of the 1st Division, and the other shared the same fate the following night, when the honours were won by the 40th Regiment. Still the defenders kept up a very heavy fire until six days later, when two breaches had been formed in the walls, and it was determined to carry the town by assault. This operation was confided to the Third and Light Divisions, who were ordered to storm the breaches while Pack's Portuguese made a false attack at the opposite side of the town. Silently the troops reached their appointed places without attracting the attention of the enemy. As they were awaiting the signal to storm, suddenly an attack on the right was commenced, and the whole line at once pressed forward. The smaller breach was soon taken, and the allies, pouring through it into the town, outflanked the defenders of the larger gap, and forced them to surrender. Pack's Brigade, although only intended to make a false attack, had also effected an entrance, and soon the whole place was swarming with English and Portuguese troops. Three hundred French fell, 1500 were made prisoners, and 150 pieces of artillery, including the battery train of Marmont's army, were captured. The loss of the allies was also heavy. Generals Crauford and Mackinnon and over 1200 soldiers and 90 officers were killed or wounded.² This glorious exploit, which had required more skilful planning and dashing enterprise than any before undertaken by Wellington, was duly recognised by the Government, who raised him a step in the peerage, while the Spanish created him Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo, and the Prince Regent of Portugal, who

1812.
January.

¹ Napier's "History of the Peninsular War," vol. iv. p. 343.

² Ibid., vol. xi. p. 345.

1812.
March.

had not as yet conferred honours upon the British, showed his appreciation by granting to him the title of Marquis of Torres Vedras. Wellington repaired the breaches and levelled his own trenches, and then handed over the command of the fortress to Castanos, Captain-General of Estremadura and Galicia.

When Marmont heard of the siege of Ciudad on January 15th, he ordered his army to concentrate with all speed at Salamanca; then, after the fortress fell, retired to Valladolid, having uselessly wearied his divisions by long winter marches. Wellington now prepared to execute his carefully prepared plan for a similar dash on Badajoz. He had in December ordered a pontoon bridge to be brought up the Tagus to Abrantes, and siege materials to be prepared at Elvas. The Spaniards, however, attended to the transport in a most disgraceful manner, and often refused the requests of Wellington and Stuart. The violence of the storms also hindered the operations, but eventually the pontoons were laid on the Guadiana, and Beresford crossed the river on March 16th. He then drove in the enemy's posts and invested Badajoz with 15,000 men. Soult was now before the Isla, Drouet's Division at Villafranca, and Darricau near Medellin. Graham therefore crossed the Guadiana to watch Soult, Hill advanced to Almendralejos to hold Drouet in check, while the 5th Division remained at Campo Mayor. The whole allied army now numbered 51,000 troops, of whom 20,000 were Portuguese.¹

The third and last English siege of Badajoz at length began in earnest. The defenders, 5000 strong, under General Phillipon, had greatly strengthened the place since it was last attacked, but it was still badly provided with powder and shells. It was arranged to attack the bastion of Trinidad from the hill on which stood Fort Picurina, and Colonel Fletcher, the constructor of the lines of Torres Vedras, was entrusted with the task of directing the works as Chief Engineer. Unfortunately he was wounded during a sortie on the night of the 19th. The chief command was given to General Picton, while Generals Kempt, Colville, and Bowes alternately did duty in the trenches. Badajoz was not, how-

¹ Napier's "History of the Peninsular War," vol. xi. appendix xx. sect. i.

ever, completely invested, and Phillipon, finding that the right bank of the Guadiana was free, constructed a battery there, which raked the trenches with most destructive effect. The elements now befriended the garrison, for on the 22nd heavy rain fell. The trenches were soon flooded, and the river raised so high that the floating bridge was carried away, and the besiegers were temporarily cut off from their supplies. As soon as the water fell it was decided to attack the Picurina, and 500 men from the 3rd Division were entrusted with the task. On the night of the 25th the small force moved to the assault, and the redoubt was carried after an hour's desperate fighting. This was a serious loss to the defenders, for the allies at once constructed batteries on its flanks, and opened a vigorous cannonade against the town. On April 1st the fire began to tell on the Trinidad and Santa Maria bastions, and two days later the breaches were pronounced ready for the assault. No time could be lost, for on the 5th Soult was at Llerena, only three marches distant, and was hastening to the rescue. Still Wellington decided to make a third breach before attacking, and when this was accomplished on the 6th, 18,000 men were ordered for the onset. Picton's Division was to attack the castle on the right, while Leith assaulted the bastion of San Vincente on the left, and in the centre Colville and Colonel Andrew Barnard marched against the breaches. Every conceivable instrument of defence had been used without stint. The ditches were lined with pits of water and trains of powder, the ascent was faced with spikes and rolling stones, while frowning from the top of the walls were immense *chevaux-de-frise*, made of sword-blades.¹ Against these fearful obstacles the line was hurled with the greatest violence, while the attacks on the breaches were made with the most reckless fury. Hundreds were blown to atoms by the mines and drowned in the pits of water. Still their fellows mounted the heaps of dead bodies and reached the gaps in the walls. A few, led by Captain Nicholas and Lieutenant Shaw, forced their way into the Santa Maria bastion, but

1812.
April.

¹ Colonel Jones wrote the following day to Major Chapman that Soult "was fully justified in his calculation of six weeks for the period of the defence." "Supplementary Despatches," vol. vii. p. 311.

1812.
April.

were at once mowed down, and as the Trinidad breach could not be forced, Wellington withdrew his troops at midnight with the object of re-forming them for a second assault. On the extreme left Leith's Division had been more fortunate in the face of every difficulty. The scaling-ladders were too short, and the defect had to be remedied. Eventually the San Vincente bastion was captured by General Walker, and the 38th Regiment and 15th Caçadores were admitted into the town. A furious attack was then made on the garrison from the rear of the ramparts. The French, assailed on both sides, at length began to waver, and after some desultory combats in various parts of the town, General Phillipon, who was himself wounded, retired across the river to Fort Christoval with a few hundred soldiers, and surrendered early the next morning to Lord Fitzroy Somerset. The carnage had been terrible; nearly 5000 officers and men fell during the siege, of whom 3500 were stricken at the time of the assault, and Generals Kempt, Harvey, Bowes, Colville, and Picton carried away a lifelong mark of their noble and honourable work. Thus was the formidable barrier removed and the pathway opened for a further advance, while Wellington was cheered by the news that the Government intended to withdraw 10,000 troops from Sicily, if it could be done with safety, and to use them on the east coast of Spain in concert with the British fleet.¹

Soult returned into Andalusia to resume command of the forces which were blockading Cadiz. Wellington could not follow him, because the Spanish officers had neglected to repair the fortresses of Ciudad Rodrigo² and Almeida, and it was necessary to defend them against Marmont, who had now moved north to Sabugal. That general, however, retired before the allies and would not risk an encounter. This enabled Wellington to send General Hill to remove the bridge of boats at Almaraz, at this time the chief highway

¹ "Wellington Supplementary Despatches," vol. vii. p. 302.

² Wellington to Liverpool, April 22, 1812: "I shall determine upon the line of operations which I shall follow during the summer according to the period at which I shall have Ciudad Rodrigo fully provisioned, and according to the intelligence which I shall receive of the state of Marmont's preparations to endeavour to take it by other means besides blockade." "Supplementary Despatches," vol. vii. p. 318.

between Portugal and South Spain. This was accomplished on May 18th, and the French finally excluded from Portugal.

1812.
January.

Still there were 240,000 French troops and 40,000 Spaniards to be conquered. Of these 60,000 were in Catalonia and Aragon under Suchet; 38,000 composed the army of the north and were commanded by Caffarelli; 17,000 were under the banners of the King and Jourdan in the centre of the country; 56,000 formed the army of the south and were led by Soult; while the army of Portugal under Marmont consisted of 52,000 men, and 12,000 more were on their way from France.¹ Against this mighty host Wellington led 75,000 allies of all ranks, of whom 5500 were cavalry, but he possessed only 59 guns; General Hill commanded 25,000, with 2500 cavalry, in Estremadura, and in Cadiz was a British garrison of 6000 men. Lord William Bentinck had now sailed from Sicily with 10,000 men, and was daily expected to land at Catalonia. Meanwhile the Regency in Spain had become so unpopular, and the cry for a change in the executive so loud and threatening, that on January 21, 1812, after a secret discussion lasting twenty-four hours, a new Regency of five members was chosen, of whom two were Americans. The Duke of Infantado, Henry O'Donnel, Admiral Villarvicencio, Joachim de Mosquera, and Ignacios de Ribas thus became Regents, and it was arranged that each one in rotation should act as President for six months. O'Donnel, who was friendly to the British alliance, made many changes in the department of war and finance, and attempted to restore harmony between the English and Spanish officers. His efforts were unavailing, however, and soon the old disputes were renewed, for as the democratic spirit gained in strength the anti-English feeling increased, and the policy of the new Regents in the American colonies was as foolish and violent² as was that of their predecessors.² In Portugal affairs were also unsatisfactory, for the return of the royal family was postponed, and the military reforms which Beresford had been sent to Lisbon to effect were retarded by the Regency. Still the British Government remained patient, and Castlereagh wrote to Lord Strangford, Minister

¹ Napier's "History of the Peninsular War," vol. iii. p. 37.

² Ibid., vol. xi. p. 333.

1812.
April.

at Rio Janeiro, that England would continue to lend the Prince Regent of Portugal aid until he could return in safety to his European dominions, and that he hoped His Royal Highness would be satisfied with the grant of £200,000 which Parliament had voted for the purpose of keeping up and improving the Portuguese military establishment. At the same time he informed the British Minister that a Commission had left London to "offer His Royal Highness friendly mediation between old Spain and the Spanish dominions in South America upon principles the best calculated to combine a cordial and sincere reconciliation between the Regency of Spain and the Transatlantic possessions of the Spanish monarch." It was not, however, proposed that the Prince Regent of Portugal should take part in the negotiation, because the Portuguese territories were very near to the Spanish colonies and so trouble might be caused. Again difficulties might arise owing to the eventual interest of the Princess Carlotta of Portugal in the throne of Spain. The chief reason, however, for keeping the Regent in the background was the hostility which the Court of Brazil had shown to the Junta of Buenos Ayres. Castlereagh therefore advised the Princess of Portugal to take no step at present, and at the same time clearly told the Prince Regent that unless he observed the articles of the Treaty of Commerce of 1810, which was passed in favour of Portuguese trade, the British Government would recommend Parliament to repeal those Acts.¹ This despatch summed up the policy of the Government in the Peninsular. It was intended to restore the Royal families of Spain and Portugal to their European kingdoms and to their colonies and possessions in America; but it was recognised that it would be very difficult to help people who had not the ability to act for themselves, and neither trusted nor kept faith with their friends and allies.² Both countries had a powerful enemy to contend with in Europe, and discontented subjects to appease in America, and now seemed inclined to add to their troubles

¹ Castlereagh to Lord Strangford at Rio Janeiro, April 10, 1812. F. O. Records, Portugal Brazils, No. 122.

² At this time the British Government was distrusted by the Princess Carlotta, who imagined that the revolt of the Colonies was fostered by Great Britain.

by fighting each other. Portuguese troops were actually marched into the Paraguay, and the viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres was threatened by the Prince Regent of Portugal. Castlereagh therefore remonstrated strongly, and told him to interfere no more with the concerns of the Spanish possessions in America.¹ 1812. July.

The French forces in the Peninsula were greatly superior to those of the allies, yet Wellington felt confident that he could successfully contend against any one of the armies opposed to him. He therefore requested the Spanish general, Villemar, to help Hill if Soult moved against him, and after placing the fortresses of Elvas, Badajoz, Ciudad Rodrigo, and Almeida in a good state for defence, ordered a general advance on June 13th.

The British army marched in three columns, while the Spanish troops of Don Carlos formed a fourth. After crossing the Agueda, the enemy was followed in the direction of Salamanca, and during the same night Marmont evacuated the town. He, however, left a garrison of 800 men in the forts which covered the bridge over the Tormes, in order to check the advance of the allies. In this he was unsuccessful, for the troops crossed by the fords instead on the 17th, and entered the town, where they were received with much enthusiasm by the people. The garrison in the forts were now cut off from all support, and surrendered ten days later. Marmont, who had returned with the idea of offering battle, therefore retired towards the Douro, and laid a trap for the allies. He intended to lure them towards a strongly prepared position by a feigned retreat, and then make a stand. Wellington was not to be caught, and patiently waited where he was, hoping that lack of supplies would cause Marmont either to evacuate Southern Castile altogether, or to return and fight on ground of his choosing.

So far the British had been very successful, although Wellington was constantly embarrassed by need of funds. A bitter disappointment now awaited him. He expected that his advance would be greatly helped by the landing of Lord William Bentinck with his force on the east coast

¹ Castlereagh to Strangford, May 29, 1812. F. O. Records, Portugal Brazils, No. 122.

1812. of Spain, which would have created a diversion in his favour.
July. He now heard that Lord William had not reached Spain, and had gone instead to Italy, and his whole plan was upset. Not only was it necessary to stop the advance, but it was imperative to make sure of a safe retreat to Portugal. The army was therefore ordered to fall back on Ciudad Rodrigo.

Suddenly, on July 15th, Marmont advanced and made a feint of crossing the Douro. Wellington quickly changed his front, and for some days the armies moved parallel to each other. The French then crossed the Tormes between Huerta and Alba, and threatened the road to Ciudad. Wellington also reached the opposite bank and took up a position two miles above Salamanca. His left wing reached the river, while his right extended to two steep hills called the Aripeles. Their possession was of great importance, and the allies promptly occupied one, while the French seized the other. The forenoon of the 22nd was passed in suspense. Wellington only wished to secure his retreat, and Marmont knew it, but the designs of the French general were not known to the allies.

It was this knowledge which decided the issue of the fight, for Marmont, bent only upon cutting off Wellington's communications, sent General Thomière about midday to seize the heights of Miranda, two miles away on his left. This manœuvre separated the left wing of the French army from the centre, and Wellington seized his opportunity. Sending Pakenham to outflank Thomière, he remained on the Aripele hill awaiting until the enemy were near enough to attack. In two hours they were within range, and Leith was ordered to advance with the 4th and 5th Divisions, while Pack's Brigade made a violent and gallant assault on the French Aripele, where Marmont and his staff stood in blissful ignorance of the fate in store for the left wing. It was not, indeed, until 5 P.M. that they saw Pakenham's column deploy across their left flank, and realised their danger. Marmont at once rode hard to the point, but was wounded by a shell, and thus spared the sight of Thomière's column being completely defeated. First crushed between the brigades of Pakenham and Bradford, and then cut to pieces by Sir Stapleton Cotton's cavalry, only a remnant was left

to mourn for their brave leader. Bonet, who succeeded Marmont, was next wounded, and the command devolved upon Clausel, who had recently arrived from the rear. Still the French right fought with the courage of despair, and stubbornly the forces held to the Aripele. Generals Leith and Beresford were wounded, while the rifles piped their treble note amid the deep bass of the great guns. The 6th Division was now ordered to the front, and slowly Clausel's troops were forced foot by foot across the flat and up the hill beyond. Night now interposed, but without effect. The sabres of the Light Division cut through the moonlight, as the beaten army fled towards the crossing of the river at Alba de Tormes. Here Wellington had placed Don Carlos and a Spanish garrison to bar the way and inflict a crowning blow. This was spared the routed enemy, for the Spanish General had disobeyed orders, and left the bridge unguarded. Still the pursuit was continued next day with terrible effect, until the Adaja was reached, sixty miles east of the battlefield.¹

The French had lost 6000 men, and left 7000 prisoners in the hands of the allies, who had themselves suffered 4500 casualties. In no battle had officers been so heavily punished. The French generals, Thomière, Ferey, and Desgravières, were killed, and Marmont, Maine, Bonet, and Clausel wounded. The British generals, Beresford, Cole, Leith, Allen, and Cotton, all bore honourable testimony of their valour.

Such a victory is its own reward, and mere titles and orders simply give pleasure to those who confer them. Wellington was created a marquis, and the Spanish Cortes admitted him to the most sacred order of the Joison d'Or. Meanwhile King Joseph had left Madrid with 14,000 men on the 21st, and did not hear of the battle of Salamanca until four days later. He then made a forced march to Espinar, and requested Clausel to join him at the capital, and directed Soult to evacuate Andalusia and meet him at Toledo. Both generals disregarded his orders. Clausel crossed the Douro and continued his retreat towards Burgos, while Soult remained at his post.

Wellington therefore entered Valladolid and advanced

¹ Napier, vol. iii. p. 67. "Wellington," by Maxwell, vol. ii. p. 287.

1812.
July.

1812 his right wing against the King, who was now completely
July. isolated. He then left General Clinton at Cuellan with 8000 men to watch Marmont, and crossed the Guadiana on August 10th, cheered by the intelligence that the expedition from Sicily had at length arrived. It seemed useless to pursue the unfortunate Joseph, who had hastily retreated across the Tagus at Aranjuez, and Wellington pressed on for Madrid.

The city was reached and entered on August 12th, and two days after, the French garrison of 2000 men, which had been left in the Retiro, capitulated and handed over 180 guns and immense quantities of military stores to the allied army. It was, however, impossible to remain in Madrid. The difficulty of finding specie to pay the troops was now acute,¹ and only £10,000 remained in the military chest. Large forces of French were still unsubdued, and Clausel was establishing the army of Portugal on the Douro for the purpose of threatening the line of communication of the allies. Soult raised the siege of Cadiz on August 25th, and marched towards Grenada. Wellington, therefore, left Madrid on September 1st, crossed the Douro a week later, and passing through Valladolid, took up a position before Burgos. The fortress contained the chief magazine in the north of Spain, and it was therefore imperative that it should be reduced. After sending General Hill to Aranjuez to watch Soult, Wellington therefore prepared for the siege.

Burgos was held by 2000 men under General Dubreton, and was defended by three lines, of which the outer was formed of an old stone wall which had been repaired by the French, while the inner two were of earth. Within these again were an entrenched building called the White Church, and the ancient keep of the castle surmounted with a heavy casemated work called the Napoleon Battery.² This was placed on the highest point, and commanded everything to the east, west, and south. There was also an outwork on the hill of San Michael strongly defended. This was attacked on September 19th, and carried after a murderous conflict,

¹ Lord Liverpool wrote in October that he would be able to send £400,000 in gold in the course of the next four months, and that he was arranging for a supply for the East Indies.

the garrison being driven to the castle. Three days later the castle was attacked, but as no breach had been formed it was not a success, and work was resumed in the trenches.¹ Mines were now laid and exploded, and a second assault attempted on the 28th, which was also a failure; and after some partial successes on October 4th and 18th, Wellington, who had now lost 2000 men, was obliged to raise the siege. It was indeed impossible to remain longer, for General Souham was hastening to relieve the place with 45,000 men—against whom Wellington could only bring 32,000, and of these 12,000 were Galicians. In the middle of the night of the 21st, therefore, the retreat towards the Douro was commenced, and Hill was ordered to retire at the same time along the valley of the Tagus, while Ballesteros² was instructed to hold Soult in check. The Spanish general did not obey, and soon 50,000 French were pressing on the heels of Hill, and Wellington himself was obliged to fight rear-guard actions at the passage of the Hormaza and on the Pisuerga. He, however, crossed the Douro in safety on the 29th, and the two British generals met on the Adaja four days later. Souham therefore gave up the pursuit, and awaited the arrival of Soult, while Joseph took up a position on the right bank of the Tormes. Wellington now mined the bridge at Alva, and established himself firmly between that place and San Cristoval, where he hoped he would be attacked. Joseph and Jourdan would have rushed headlong to battle at once, but Soult restrained them, and advised that the Tormes should be crossed seven miles above Alva, and the flank and rear of the allies threatened. This plan was adopted on the 12th, and Soult halted in a strong position near Mozarves, where he was joined by Souham. The French had now assembled on the Tormes the whole of their forces, after abandoning Madrid and their communications with France.

1812.
Novem-
ber.

¹ Lord Wellington repeatedly complained that the working parties in the trenches did not do their duty. All the officers and men of the Portuguese detachment absented themselves on one occasion. "Wellington Supplementary Despatches," vol. vii. p. 437.

² Wellington was appointed by the Cortes Commander-in-Chief of the Spanish armies, but Ballesteros published a violent protest denying the power of the Cortes to appoint a foreigner to the post without the consent of the Spanish generals. He was therefore superseded by the Duque del Parque.

1812.
Decem-
ber.

There were about 90,000 men, including 10,000 cavalry. As soon as they had crossed the Tormes in force and fallen on Wellington's line of retreat, it was necessary to attack them or fall back, and they were too strong to be attacked. The allied camp was therefore broken up, and the whole army retreated round Soult's left flank, covered by a dense fog. They then went into winter quarters about Ciudad Rodrigo and Plasencia.¹

A great deal of croaking was caused in England by this, the third and last retreat, and the Opposition were afforded some material for debate. The Government were, however, now firm in their intention to continue the fight until the French were driven from the Peninsular, for they were much encouraged by the favourable accounts of the campaign in Russia. The chief difficulty was to obtain sufficient specie to pay the troops, for the paper currency had caused a great drain of gold from England. Sir Charles Stuart was therefore directed to urge the Portuguese Government to prevent the flow of gold and silver from Portugal, and to discourage the shipping of specie by British men-of-war and merchant vessels.² So great was the inconvenience that it was proposed to raise money by selling the Church lands of Portugal. The plan found supporters in the Cabinet,³ but was quashed by Wellington, who pointed out, first, that there would be no purchasers, and secondly, that the Church, now friendly to the allies, would be certain to resent bitterly the measure.⁴

Meanwhile the greatest drama in history was being enacted, and the continent of Europe was the stage. The Prussian Plenipotentiary General Krusemarck signed the treaty required by Napoleon on February 24th, but before the news could be conveyed to Berlin the French armies were already in motion. Great excitement was therefore occasioned in the Prussian Court, and the courier from Paris arrived with despatches at a critical moment. The follow-

¹ "Wellington Supplementary Despatches," vol. vii. p. 517.

² To Charles Stuart. F. O. Records, Portugal, 126.

³ From Castlereagh to Sir Charles Stuart, December 23, 1812. F. O. Records, Portugal, 126.

⁴ Napier, vol. iii. p. 144.

ing account, sent to Castlereagh by Gotthel Muller, is of great interest, for it throws much light on the delicately balanced condition of the Prussian Court and Government at this time. "On the 2nd (of March) we were on the eve of a revolution, and but for the opportune arrival of a courier from General Krusemarck the consequences might have been dreadful. The King received an account of the arrival of 15,000 French soldiers at Brandenburg without any previous notice. A council was summoned, and a determination taken to oppose the further advance of this detachment by force. The General was to be beaten, and volunteers invited to join the garrisons of Berlin, Potsdam, and the National Guard. The despatches, however, from General Krusemarck contained the concurrence of Napoleon to the conditions of the arrangement entered into between the Court and Hardenberg, and a letter from him expressing his entire satisfaction with the arrangement, and his hopes that his troops would be permitted to pass through without interruption as those of a favoured ally and friend. The King at once altered his tone, and stated that a most satisfactory account had been received from Paris, and that the most intimate connections existed between the two Courts."¹ The whole incident is a good example of the manner in which Napoleon disregarded the usual methods of diplomacy. Krusemarck was invited to a conference with Maret, Foreign Minister for France, and informed that the army was already on the march, and that he must sign an alliance that very day (February 22nd), and the troops had actually reached Prussian territory before the courier had arrived with the treaty for the King to ratify. The degradation of Prussia was indeed complete. Stein, in retirement, was bitterly incensed against Hardenberg, yet it was obvious that the Prussians could have done no more than delay for a short time the march of Napoleon. Still the bloodless submission was so humiliating to the army that Scharnhorst resigned, and many of the Prussian officers quitted the service of their king and entered that of Alexander. Every one was indeed enraged because the Prussian army of 131,000 men, led by Blucher, Von York, and Von

1812.
March.

¹ From Gotthel Muller, Berlin, March 7, 1812. F. O. Records, Prussia, 85.

1812. Bulow, and the Landwehr of 120,000 men,¹ were given no
March. chance to prove their valour.

Austria was treated to another method of diplomacy often practised by Napoleon. He promised that the Illyrian provinces should be restored to the Court of Vienna if 30,000 men were provided to guard his left flank in Volhynie. Metternich agreed to the alliance, which, however, was never one of disinterested friendship.²

Preparations for the greatest invasion ever known were pushed on apace. It was not possible simply to quarter the troops on the inhabitants as had been done in Germany and Spain, for the whole army was to be plunged into the solitary deserts of the north. Transport and commissariat for 450,000 men had therefore to be collected at Dantzic and in the fortresses of the Vistula. Frenchmen, Germans, Italians, Poles, Illyrians, Dutch, Swiss, and even Portuguese and Spaniards constituted the mighty host. These with the Austrians and Prussians swelled the total to 600,000 men, of whom 380,000 were under the direct command of Napoleon himself as the army of the centre, and were collected at Kowno on the Niemen, while the Austrians under Schwarzenburg lay on the borders of Galicia. All was prepared when Napoleon met Frederick William and Francis at Dresden, and on June 23rd the order was given to cross into Russian territory.

Meanwhile Alexander, who had played such an important part in raising the third coalition, was also diligently whipping up allies. England was approached early, but was again too late to be of assistance, for it was not until July that the British Government formally made peace with Russia and Sweden and sent them pecuniary aid.³ Other countries acted more promptly, and a treaty of peace was signed at Bucharest on May 16th between Russia and the Porte. It

¹ From Gotthel Muller, Berlin, March 7, 1812. F. O. Records, Prussia, 85.

² See for account of Metternich's policy, "Napoleon's Invasion of Russia," Hereford George, p. 30 *et seq.* Napoleon never doubted the friendship of Austria, for as early as November 1811 he wrote to Marshal Davoust: "Je suis assuré de l'Autriche." *Correspondance*, vol. xxiii. p. 15.

³ See "Napoleon's Invasion of Russia," Mr. Hereford George, p. 95 *et seq.* Both Sweden and Russia asked for pecuniary aid from England, which was at first refused.

was agreed that the boundary of the two Empires in Europe should be traced by the river Pruth from its entry into Moldavia to its confluence with the Danube, and thence by the left bank of the Danube to the sea, while all the other frontiers should be as before the war.¹ In July a treaty was also signed with Spain in which the Czar recognised as legitimate the Cortes assembled at Cadiz and the Constitution they had decreed. It is, however, interesting to note that in Article 1 the treaty is defined as one of peace and alliance between the Emperor of Russia and the King of Spain, who therein agreed to unite in a vigorous war against Napoleon. Favourable commercial relations were also to be established between the two Powers.² Sweden had been already won over by the promise of Denmark, and thus the Emperors of the West and East had under one or other of their banners practically the whole of the continent of Europe. Alexander did not despair even of ultimately enrolling Prussia on his side, and wrote to Stein in May asking for his advice and requesting him to visit Wilna. Stein agreed and arrived in June, but immediately made it clear that he had nothing to do with Russian politics and had only come in the interests of Germany. Still he wrote long memoirs to the Czar in which he gave much advice. He proposed to invite Napoleon's foreign mercenaries, particularly the Westphalians, the Tyrolese, and the Illyrians, to desert by proclamation. He thought a national rising in Prussia would be successful only if troops were sent from England, and suggested that the best place for landing them lay between the Elbe and the Yssel. Under any circumstances, however, he expected that the rigid discipline in the army would cause it to obey absolutely the orders of the Court, and that the people alone would be powerless to act. Still he did not agree with Count Munster, the Ambassador in London, who feared that if the populace were armed they might turn against their own rulers.

1812.
July.

The headquarters of the Russian army were at Wilna

¹ F. O. Records, Russia, 80. In a secret article of this treaty it was stipulated that Russia should use part of the coast-line of Turkey for debarkation of troops, &c.

² Ibid.

1812.
August.

when Napoleon crossed the Niemen, and it was not known whether he intended to march on the capital or on Moscow. Many plans were mooted, but no particular one agreed upon, except to fall back upon Drissa and fight a battle there. The total forces of the defenders merely numbered 150,000, of whom 100,000 formed the army of the north under the command of Barclay de Tolly, while the remainder were led by Prince Bagration.

Napoleon advanced very rapidly, and both the Russian commanders retreated as hastily as possible. Barclay, however, reached Drissa first, and knowing it to be useless to make a stand alone, continued his march. Napoleon entered Wilna on June 28th, where it was necessary to make a prolonged halt, for already the great difficulties of transport were weighing down his army. Resuming the chase on July 16th, he endeavoured to catch the Russians before they reached Witepsk. Again he failed, and Barclay continued his retreat unmolested to Smolensko, where at length he met Bagration and united the two armies three hundred miles from the frontier. Napoleon was bitterly disappointed; already the grim foe of sickness and desertion had reduced his force by 100,000 men, and to feed the remainder was almost impossible. Still he pressed on, and on August 18th reached Smolensko a day too late, for after a bloody skirmish with the Russian rear-guard he entered a deserted and ruined city. The retreat was wise and well-timed, yet it cost Barclay his command. Wellington had found it necessary to fight a battle when retreating on his lines. Now not only the army but the whole Russian nation were clamouring for a fight, and the Czar, bending to the storm, appointed Kutusoff in his place.

We must turn for a moment from these stirring scenes to examine the despatches of Ministers on the spot in order to unravel the skein of forces which were influencing those who controlled the destinies of so many millions and the actual lives of so many thousands. On August 30th Lord Cathcart had a conference with Count Romanzoff, who frankly acknowledged that he considered a war with France to have been sooner or later inevitable. He, however, considered that it was necessary in the interests of all Europe

to gain as much time as possible for preparation. He had therefore exerted "all his means" to attain this end, but now was determined to persevere with the campaign.¹ 1812. August.

This causes us to wonder how far the apparent reconciliation in the middle of the previous year was genuine on the part of Russia, and whether that Power then really desired peace with Napoleon. Although the question will probably never be removed beyond the range of controversy, it is certain that in the art of diplomacy the men of the Revolution and their soldier Emperor were no match for the Court which has built up its enormous Empire largely by its diplomatic successes.

A conference was held at Abo in August, where a treaty was concluded between Russia and Sweden, and the Czar granted reinforcements to the force in Finland.² He then made some astounding proposals to the English Minister. He suggested that if the island of Zealand were taken by Great Britain, Sweden and Russia, he should waive all claims and leave the other two Powers to settle its fate between themselves. If, however, Russia acquired territory as far as the banks of the Vistula, he hoped that it would be guaranteed to her.³ Cathcart was absolutely staggered by the proposal, which showed plainly that the Czar was still confident of success although Napoleon at the head of an enormous army was in the midst of his country. He answered that he was not authorised "to make any engagement to the

¹ Abo, August 30, 1812. Lord Cathcart to the Foreign Secretary. F. O. Records, Russia, 79. Romanzoff considered that operations at distant points were best calculated to confound Bonaparte.

² The Emperor granted a reinforcement of 20,000 men to be added to the force in Finland. Major-General Folk with 15,000 infantry were ordered to embark at Helsingfore and to proceed to Riga to enable General Essen with 20,000 men to join General Wittgenstein.

³ Lord Cathcart to the Foreign Secretary. F. O. Records, Russia, 79. A treaty of concert was concluded between Russia and Sweden as follows:— "1. The additional force granted the Emperor as above. 2. If the island of Zealand shall be taken by Great Britain, Sweden and Russia, the occupancy and ultimate disposition of that island shall be a matter of agreement between the three Powers. Russia cedes to Sweden her claim, leaving it to the other two Powers to decide the question. 3. Russia grants to Sweden, I think, 1,500,000 roubles. 4. In consideration of the additional force granted by Russia it is deemed just that if she acquires territory to the banks of the Vistula the same to be guaranteed. Great Britain to be invited to accede to this."

1812.
August.

treaty then read," but doubted, in respect to Zealand, if the British Government would agree to any arrangement placing both shores of the Sound under one and the same Power. He continued that the proposition of extension of territory to the Vistula had never "occurred to the imagination of the Court of London." With this answer Romanzoff did not appear surprised.¹

Napoleon marched on. With the full confidence which leads to the greatest successes and the greatest failures, he asked his weary troops for a mighty effort. Kutusoff halted the army at Borodino on a position of great natural strength. His 110,000 troops faced 125,000 French, and each man was goaded to his greatest exertion either by the feeling of shame incidental to a retreat, or the disappointment of an hitherto unsuccessful chase. On the morning of September 5th Napoleon advanced and struck at the centre of the Muscovite line. Here the Russians had thrown up an earthwork known as the Great Redoubt, and up its face Eugene's Italians slowly forced their way, only to be hurled back down the slope. At length a glittering line of Cuirassiers charged up the hill, but were stayed at its summit. Another line led by Grouchy and Chastel followed, and swept all before it. Kutusoff was obliged to move back, but did so slowly, defiantly, and in perfect order, while his guns continued to rain shot on the invaders. The carnage was terrible; 40,000 French and 30,000 Russians were struck down during the day, yet neither could claim a victory.

Regardless both of this fruitless effort and of the news of Salamanca, which had reached him a week earlier, Napoleon pressed on for Moscow. Not one of the descriptions of the terrible events which followed equals in accuracy or forcible simplicity that which was sent home in official despatches by Lord Cathcart. "Prince Kutusoff has withdrawn his army from between Moscow and the enemy," he writes, "and the French are now at liberty to enter that city." "The Emperor is determined not to treat for peace, although great efforts have been made to excite a clamour. His Imperial Majesty wishes for more arms, especially shrapnel shells." Then comes the following sentence: "Everything

¹ Lord Cathcart to the Foreign Secretary. F. O. Records, Russia, 79.

of value was removed from Moscow, and it is probable that on entering the city the same solitude was found which is said so much to have disappointed Bonaparte on entering Smolensko."¹ Worse was to come, for the troops had scarcely marched through the deserted streets on September 14th when flames burst out in all directions. The incendiaries of the Holy City may have been Russian convicts or French soldiers, the result was equally terrible. For five days the flames rose and fell, and when they at last died down more than half of the beautiful city was in ruins. Alexander, more and more confident, determined to continue the war to the end, but proposed that the Russian fleet should winter for safety in British ports. The truth at length began to dawn upon Napoleon as it had upon Massena before the lines of Torres Vedras. The conqueror of half Europe had been lured into a trap, and saw no way out of it. It was impossible to fight, so it was necessary to treat. General Lauriston had made a favourable impression at St. Petersburg in the previous year, and was therefore chosen to ask for an armistice. On October 5th he presented himself to Kutusoff, who was accompanied by Sir Robert Wilson, the British Commissioner, and the Duke of Wurtemberg. He stated that he came to complain of the savage manners of the Russian peasants, and asked for permission to go to St. Petersburg and treat for an armistice. "Kutusoff answered that the man who dared to propose peace would be considered by the Sovereign, by the army, and by the people, a traitor, that no mission could be permitted to move to St. Petersburg, and no proposition of an armistice could be admitted."²

1812.
September.
ber.

Napoleon now realised the extreme seriousness of his position, and his letters to his generals in Spain—copies of which Cathcart obtained and sent home—vividly describe the embarrassment of the French army in Moscow. At one time he wished to call Marshal Macdonald to him and to induce the King of Prussia to replace his corps.³

¹ Lord Cathcart to the Foreign Secretary, St. Petersburg, September 22, 1812. F. O. Records, Russia, 79.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, October 29th. F. O. Records, Russia, 80.

1812.
October.

Then he sent secret overtures to Alexander, and attempted to bribe him by promising him a free hand in Turkey and Poland.¹ But the Czar never wavered. Indeed he saw victory already within his grasp, and Russian territory stretching to the Vistula.

For six years the Emperors had been playing see-saw. Alexander's end was now rising as Napoleon's fell. The conqueror of a corrupt and feeble Germany and Italy had met his master. A still more formidable foe had to be faced—the winter storms of Russia—and it was useless to await in Moscow. The whole force was already ordered to retreat, when the Russians surprised Murat forty miles south of the city, and reduced his army by 3000 men. It is not the place here to tell the tale of that terrible march homeward; how the grand army, attacked by nature and art, slowly succumbed, until of the 600,000 seasoned troops, who had cheerfully faced the rising sun, only 20,000 half-starved, frozen shadows of men remained on December 13th to drag their weary feet across the bridge over the Niemen. Nor were they any longer cheered by the presence of their Emperor, for he had left them ten days before and hurried back to the capital.

Even now Alexander did not stay his hand. Hardly had the last French soldier left the Holy City, when, in company with Lord Cathcart, he approached the Austrian Emperor. Sending back some captured standards which had been presented by the Empress Marie Therese to the Austrian army, he stated his desire to renew the old alliance.² At the same time Cathcart strongly advised Prussia to free herself as far as possible from her shackles, in case "of a sudden dissolution of the present French dynasty," and informed Hardenberg that it was the chief part of his duty to make every exertion to regain the independence of his country.

He knew, however, that the Court of Berlin would be jealous if Russian territory were extended to the Vistula, and did not refer to the subject, for he hoped to persuade

¹ "Life of Napoleon I.," Holland Rose, vol. ii, p. 258.

² From Lord Cathcart, October 29. F. O. Records, Russia, 79.

Alexander to restore to Prussia her former position.¹ He next offered to become a party to the treaty between Russia and Sweden if it were modified, and a few days later made friends with the Danish Minister at St. Petersburg, who submitted to him proposals for a treaty. Denmark asked that her losses during the war should be restored, and that the fleet and naval magazine should be returned, or an equivalent indemnity given, but this condition was not insisted upon.²

1812.
Novem-
ber.

Stein was working for the same end, although he did not entirely agree with Cathcart, and suggested that Russians should be sent into Prussia to arouse the people, and that England and Austria should then step in and help. He strongly opposed, however, a union of Poland with Russia.

The Prussian contingent was attached to the French corps under Macdonald, which remained in Courland, and was commanded by General Yorck, who had so stiffly repelled the advances of the French during the campaign that Macdonald endeavoured to induce him to resign his command by a series of insults. Now therefore the Russian Governor appealed to him, and in reply Yorck asked the intentions of Russia towards Prussia. Alexander then stated that he would agree not to lay down his arms until he had restored Prussia to the position it held among the Powers of Europe before 1806. Yorck therefore signed a convention at Tauroggen on December 30th, stipulating that the Prussian corps should hold the district around Memel and Tilsit as neutral territory until the King's decision should be known. Still Hardenberg feared Napoleon to such an extent that he published an official rebuke to Yorck, but at the same time sent Major Thile secretly to reassure him.³

Thus were the Continental Powers slowly gathering their strength together to make one mighty effort for freedom.

¹ From Lord Cathcart to Lord Castlereagh, St. Petersburg, October 30, 1812. F. O. Records, Russia, 80.

² Ibid. November 11th and November 22nd. Ibid.

³ "Life of Napoleon I.," Holland Rose, vol. xi. p. 270.

CHAPTER XXVIII

Wellington appointed Commander-in-Chief of Spanish armies—Position of King Joseph—Soult recalled from Spain—Operations in Aragon—The final advance commences—Line of the Tormes won—Retreat of the French—Battle of Vitoria—Defeat and rout of the French—Treaty of Kalisch—Prussia and Saxony—Austria sends Envoy secretly to England—Napoleon raises a new army—Whipping up allies against Napoleon—Battles of Lutzen and Bautzen—Napoleon grants an armistice—Policy of Metternich—Policy of the British Government—Congress at Prague—Murat offers to join the allies—Austria joins the allies—Lord Aberdeen sent to Vienna—Victories over the French—Battle of Leipzig—Treaty of Teplitz—Jealousy of England—Decision of the British Government.

1813.
January.

THE disastrous retreat of Napoleon from Moscow affected the armies in the Peninsular both materially and morally. The Cortes gave Wellington a splendid reception when he visited Cadiz in January, and even the party opposed to the British now realised who were their best friends. In the previous autumn the chief command of the Spanish army, with power to appoint and promote all officers, had been given to Wellington;¹ and as the British Government was no longer sparing with reinforcements, in the spring of 1813 nearly 200,000 allied troops,² including 55,000 British and 32,000 Portuguese, were awaiting his orders. He had, however, many enemies in camp and council. In the Cortes a strong party was still in favour of the Princess Carlotta and jealous of British influence. Many complaints were made of the conduct of his troops, and he was accused of wishing to conquer the Peninsular for his own ends. To such an absurd charge Wellington attached no importance, and in spite of the great difficulties of finance, quietly matured his plans for a final advance.

King Joseph was now in a very difficult position. He wished in his own gentle way to be a loyal monarch to the Spaniards, and to save them from the rapacity of the French

¹ "Supplementary Despatches," Wellington, vol. vii. p. 529.

² On the 19th of June 1813, the grand total of the Anglo-Portuguese army at Vitoria reached 83,486 men. Napier, vol. v. appendix xiii.

troops. In this he was not supported by his Ministers, and his generals treated him with scant courtesy. To add to his discomfort, Napoleon bullied him at intervals, and now peremptorily ordered him to leave Madrid and take his place as supreme commander of the armies, with Valladolid¹ as headquarters. The Emperor, however, still appointed the generals and directed the campaign. Joseph foolishly quarrelled with Soult, who was therefore recalled to Paris by Napoleon and given the command of the Imperial Guard in Germany. The French armies in the Peninsular on the 15th of March consisted of 231,486 men, of whom 29,422 were cavalry.² These were scattered about the country; 10,000 were in Madrid, 68,000 in Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia, and the remainder between the Tormes and Bayonne. In the course of the summer several of the best regiments were withdrawn by Napoleon. The remainder awaited Wellington's next move with some confidence, for the natural barrier caused by the Douro had been greatly strengthened. The French generals therefore hoped to turn the left flank of the allies if they advanced either by Salamanca or Talavera, the routes most likely to be chosen, as they were well known. Southern Spain was now free from the French and was never invaded again, for all the troops of King Joseph were soon wanted to resist the final advance towards the frontiers of France itself. Communication was already interrupted by the northern Partidas, who were aided with arms and ammunition by the English fleets which prowled the coasts. The French convoys and messengers were thus frequently captured, and the Emperor's orders, which were despatched in January,³ did not reach the King until the end of February. Even then they were not carried out, and a month was wasted when every day increased the danger.

Meanwhile the French were being cleared from the country south of the Tagus. The Spanish chieftains considerably weakened Suchet by their attacks, and Sir John

¹ January 3, 1813, Napoleon "Correspondence," vol. xxiv. p. 360.

² Napier, vol. v. appendix.

³ Napoleon's letters at this date are full of indignant complaints that his instructions are not being followed. "Correspondence," vol. xxiv. pp. 433, 469, 491, 506, 536.

1813.
April. Murray arrived at Alicante at the end of February, and prepared for a rapid advance. On March 6th the allies moved forward, and a slight engagement took place near Alcoy between Lord Frederick Bentinck and the French. It was intended to advance against Valencia, but the King of Sicily suddenly resumed the government, and caused such trouble in the country that Lord William Bentinck recalled 2000 of Murray's best troops,¹ and thus upset the plan. Suchet therefore decided to attack first, and on April 11th assembled an army at Fuente la Higuera, and defeated the Spaniards. Then he advanced and met Murray's force at Castalla, and an action followed on the 13th without much result, both sides claiming the victory.

Wellington had now matured his plan. He intended to cross the Douro within the Portuguese frontier with a part of his army, to ascend the right bank of the river, to ford the Esla, and then to unite with the Galician forces, while the remainder of the army advanced from the Agueda and forced the passage of the Tormes. On May 18th Sir Thomas Graham was ordered to cross the Douro with the left wing of the army, and four days later Wellington himself advanced from Frenada along the road to Salamanca. Sir Rowland Hill moved at the same time from Bejar with the intention of joining the Commander-in-Chief at Alba de Tormes. Murray, Del Parque, and Copons were also prepared to commence action on the eastern coast.² The final advance had commenced, and like a mighty wave which had flowed and ebbed, but each time gained more strength, the allied army now poured irresistibly towards the invaders. The practised eye of Napoleon from afar sighted the danger; but his hand was wanted elsewhere, and he could only direct and hope that his brother would carry out his instructions. In this the Emperor was disappointed. Instead

¹ According to Sir H. Wellesley, Wellington was empowered to retain these troops in Spain as long as he thought necessary. "Supplementary Despatches," vol. vii. p. 591.

² *Ibid.*, p. 623. Wellington thought that Sir John Murray overrated the strength of Suchet. He absolutely refused to support Lord William Bentinck in his desire to land in Naples for the purpose of attempting to conquer Murat, which was one of the impracticable schemes mooted by the Ministry at this critical moment. The idea was therefore abandoned.

of abandoning Madrid at once and quelling the insurrection in the north, Joseph remained in the capital. Instead of at once strengthening his position about Valladolid, he delayed until too late. Instead of sending his heavy baggage and stores to the rear, and fixing hospitals and depots at Burgos, Vitoria, and Pampeluna, he allowed so much impedimenta to remain with the armies that at the critical moment the line of retreat was blocked. Meanwhile Graham surmounted the difficulties of the *Tras os Montes*, and crossed the *Esla* on June 1st, the French falling back before him. Two days later Hill led the centre and left across the *Douro* at Toro,¹ and Wellington marched straight to Salamanca. It was defended by Villatte, who, however, was soon dislodged by Victor Alten's cavalry, and beat a disastrous retreat, leaving seven guns and 200 prisoners in the hands of the allies.

1813.
June.

The line of the *Tormes* was thus won, and the united army continued its march towards Valladolid. The French steadily retreated, although the country was an ideal one for defensive tactics. On the 7th the allies crossed the *Carrion*, and Joseph quitted *Torquemada* and retired to Burgos with his left wing, while Reille with the army of Portugal moved by *Castro Xerez*. Wellington followed, and rapidly pushed the force led by Graham towards Burgos. Reille now posted himself strongly behind the *Hormaza* stream, and tried to bar the road. Wellington arrived on the 12th, outflanked his right wing, and drove the main body across the bridge over the *Arlanzan* at *Baniel*. The three French armies were thus in a very strong position for defence, covered by the rivers *Arlanzan* and *Urbel*. Still Joseph would not risk an encounter, and decided to destroy the castle of Burgos and then evacuate the town. A terrible disaster now occurred. The mines prepared to blow up the castle exploded outwards and drove tons of masonry on to a column of infantry which was marching alongside. Three hundred unfortunate men were killed. In the dead of night Burgos was then deserted

¹ "Peninsular War," Napier, vol. v. p. 99. The general arrangements for the movements of the army from the 3rd to the 20th of June are given in the "Supplementary Despatches," vol. vii. p. 627 *et seq.*

1813. and Pancorbo was reached. Pursuers and pursued continued
June. on their way with little pause until the waters of the Ebro were heard rushing through its narrow gorges. Further retreat was impossible, for the highways into France by Bayonne and Seville would thereby be closed against the fleeing foe. Indeed, it was imperative to make a stand here, or be driven entirely from the Peninsular. Nature had built a mighty barrier of solid rocks and deep gorges; man had added the strong forts of Pancorbo. The position seemed impregnable, and the sinking heart of Joseph rose with hope until he imagined that even yet he might assume the offensive.

On the 16th D'Erlon marched to Aro, after sending detachments to watch the road from Burgos to Logrono, while Gazan remained about Pancorbo and Reille proceeded to Espejo. Behind them, massed in indescribable confusion in the basin of Vitoria, were the whole baggage and guns of the army, and to add to the chaos, many small garrisons were constantly arriving from the armies of the north. News of the armistice signed by Napoleon and the allies at Plesswig on June 4th now reached Wellington and his staff. Graham, Hill, and George Murray thought the Emperor would be able to send reinforcements to his armies in Spain, and were therefore in favour of a temporary halt. Wellington overruled them, for he had great hopes that his advance would make a favourable diversion for the allies in Germany. The Spanish generals also wished to halt, and reported that the route was impassable for guns and cavalry. Nevertheless, Wellington plunged into the mountainous region between Santander and Guipuscoa and determined to turn the French right.¹ After the greatest labour for six days the allied columns reached Bayas on the 19th, where Reille was strongly posted with the army of Portugal. At once the Light Division sprang upon him and forced him back, but he had gained time enough to enable the French armies to take up a position in three lines behind the Zadora. Clausel was now at Logrono, only eleven leagues distant, with the army of the north, and the King implored him to march

¹ "Life of Wellington," Sir Herbert Maxwell, vol. i. p. 314.

with all haste upon Vitoria. The order was received too late.¹ 1813.
June.

The 20th was occupied in observing the disposition of the enemy, which was singularly faulty, for although the river protected their front, it was crossed by seven bridges, none of which had been destroyed or fortified, and the arrangement was such that if either wing was forced to retire, the rear of the other one and the centre would be uncovered. The allies now numbered 80,000 men, with 90 guns, against whom Joseph could bring 65,000 men and 150 guns.

Reille was stationed on the right, where the Bilbao road crosses the river; the army of the centre was seven miles away in front of Arinez, covering the road to Vitoria; while Gazan with the army of the south was on the left, opposite the defile of La Puebla. Graham was directed to attack Reille and to force the passage of the Zadora, and thus shut up the majority of the French between the Puebla mountains and the river. For this difficult task he was assigned 20,000 men and 18 guns. Hill was to attack the left with a body of men about equal in strength numerically but formed chiefly of Spanish, while Wellington commanded the mass of artillery and infantry in the centre.²

Hill commenced the attack about midday by assailing the mountain of Puebla with Morillo's Spaniards, and soon captured the village of Subijana de Alava in front of Gazan's line. Wellington was now prepared to advance the centre, but was delayed by the non-appearance of Picton and Lord Dalhousie, who had fallen upon some unexpected rough ground and were a little behind the appointed time. While he was waiting a Spanish peasant offered to lead the troops to the bridge of Tres Puentes, which had been left unguarded. In a short time Kempt's riflemen, concealed by some rocks from the enemy, crossed and ascended the heights beyond, when they found themselves actually in the rear of the French advanced post, and close to their line of battle. Two round shot were hurled into their ranks, and the unfortunate

¹ Napier's "Peninsular War," vol. v. p. 114.

² Ibid., vol. v. p. 120. The orders for the movement of the army on June 21, 1813, are given in the "Supplementary Despatches," vol. vii. p. 652. Further instructions were sent to Sir Thomas Graham during the action. Ibid., vol. viii. p. 1.

1813. peasant who had rendered such a gallant service was killed.
June. Graham, hearing the report of guns, commenced his attack, and soon Joseph discovered that both his flanks were in danger, while in the centre the din of fighting increased and the hills around the battlefield echoed the music of war. In the midst of the fight Picton and Dalhousie appeared, and without a pause led their divisions across the bridge in front of the village of Mendoza, and forced the French centre back foot by foot towards Vitoria.¹ On the left the conflict had been raging about the bridges, which were captured and recaptured again and again,² but when the centre and left were overcome Reille perceived the danger to his own rear and commenced an orderly retreat, which was soon converted into an absolute rout by the determined troops of Graham. In the town of Vitoria the wildest confusion existed. Guns, waggons, and carriages blocked the streets, through which the fugitives struggled to escape from the relentless sabres of the cavalry. The King himself narrowly escaped capture by a squadron of Hussars, and was compelled to gallop off along the road to Pampeluna, for already across the highway to Bayonne stood one of Graham's columns. All the French correspondence, the military chest containing five million and a half dollars, the entire baggage of the army and all the guns save two were abandoned.³ Pictures, ornaments, and plate plundered from churches and palaces were all left behind in the wild flight of the French army. The victory was great and glorious, but 1000 officers and men were never to know the result, and 4000 others bore eternal witness of their valour.⁴ Wellington was now promoted to the highest military rank, and so great was his fame that it was proposed to give him the chief command of the allied army in Germany.⁵ Joseph fled to Pampeluna, while Foy rallied as many of the fugitives as possible and retired to Tolosa, where he attempted to make a

¹ Account of the Earl of Dalhousie. "Wellington Supplementary Despatches," vol. viii. p. 4.

² Account of Sir T. Graham. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

³ Napier gives the loss in men as not exceeding 6000, including some hundreds of prisoners. "Peninsular War," p. 127.

⁴ "Life of Wellington," Sir Herbert Maxwell, vol. i. p. 321.

⁵ "Wellington Supplementary Despatches," vol. viii. p. 17.

stand; but the allies had acquired the momentum of success, and Graham drove him back into French territory. 1813.
January

While Wellington was chasing the invaders from Spanish soil the flames of war were being kindled in Central Europe. Frederick William, now somewhat recovered from his excessive fear, was induced to leave Potsdam for Breslau, on January 22nd, and was thus removed from French influence. He had already secretly sent a message to the Czar in which he stated that if the Russian army would advance to the Oder he was prepared to conclude an offensive and defensive alliance with him. The King seemed to be at length in earnest, and soon after ordered universal conscription between the ages of 17 and 24 years. Alexander suggested that Prussia should annex Saxony, and neither Stein nor Hardenberg wished to oppose him, although they were not prepared for such a step. Eventually the Treaty of Kalisch was signed between the Czar and King on February 27th, which arranged that Prussia should be restored to its condition in 1806, but was discreetly silent on the subject of Poland. It was also agreed that the Emperor should place 150,000 and the King 80,000 men in the field.¹ Encouraged by this, Frederick William invited the King of Saxony to join the league; but the invitation was not accepted, for that monarch thought it safer to join Austria and offer armed mediation. Still he was not sympathetic to the French, and resolutely refused Napoleon's demand for two regiments of horse. It was now perfectly well known in England that the treaty between France and Prussia had not been voluntary on the part of the latter. Nor did Napoleon pretend otherwise, while Marshal Ney declared that if the treaty had not been signed he had orders to seize the country.² Austria was as usual at this period a dark horse. At the beginning of the year Count Romanzoff thought that Francis would remain friendly with Napoleon;³ a month later Alexander became certain that jealousy of Russia drew Francis into Napoleon's net in 1812, and that the Court of Vienna hoped for some pickings after the Eastern Power had been crushed and

¹ F. O. Records, Russia, 84.

² Walpole to Cathcart, January 19, 1813. F. O. Records, Russia, 84.

³ Cathcart to Castlereagh, January 29. Ibid.

1813.
March
and April.

consumed by France. Alexander, however, now felt sure that Austria would remain neutral in case of hostilities, and not affect the security of the left flank of the allied army.¹ The Court of St. Petersburg possessed more energy than means, and the European banker, Great Britain, was once more asked to grant a considerable subsidy. Lord Cathcart replied that it was impossible unless some increase took place in the exports from the kingdom, and the Czar answered that the only restrictions he now imposed upon commerce were such as were necessary to protect his own subjects and to raise funds for revenue purposes.

Early in February a mysterious individual calling himself Jean Willmanns appeared in England. He called at the Foreign Office, and it was then discovered that he was the Baron de Wessenberg, and was sent by Metternich on a secret mission to offer the mediation of Austria, with the hope of securing peace between Russia, France, and England.² On April 9th Castlereagh replied to this overture, that as "The Ruler of France" declared, after Metternich wrote his instructions, that "the French dynasty reigns and will continue to reign in Spain, and that he had already stated all the sacrifices he would consent to make for peace," it was impossible to believe that the Emperor Francis could have intended to offer his intervention upon a basis so derogatory to the good faith of Great Britain. He then urged the Emperor to consider if the time had not arrived for all the great Powers in Europe to act in concert for their common interest and honour, and pointed out that although the Prince Regent was always anxious to fall in line with his allies, he did not feel at liberty to lend himself to a negotiation of which there was no prospect of a favourable issue.³ Thus was the Court of Vienna mildly snubbed, and it is difficult to understand why any mediation was attempted at all, or why Metternich sent his mission wrapped in such great secrecy. While the Powers were negotiating, Napoleon as usual was actively engaged in raising a new army of 350,000 men. With such a force, although chiefly consisting

¹ Cathcart to Castlereagh, March 6. F. O. Records, Russia, 84.

² F. O. Records, Austria, 105.

³ April 9, 1813. Austria, 105.

of raw lads, he had little fear of the arms of Russia and Prussia combined. Castlereagh for his part made every effort to keep the allies in line, and wrote to Cathcart that the Government would take charge of the Russian fleet, would provide £2,000,000 to help the Prince Regent of Sweden in the north of Germany, and would set apart another £2,000,000 for Russia and Prussia.¹ In return, he hoped that the Czar would support him if he added the small territories of Minden and Ravensburg to the Hanoverian possessions of Great Britain.² It was now arranged that the army of Hanover was to consist of 18,000 men, who would be placed under the command of the Prince Royal of Sweden.

1813.
April and
May.

The Dutch were also expected to aid in the general struggle, and Castlereagh wrote to Cathcart: "When I hear from you that the allied armies are sufficiently advanced to favour an insurrection in Holland, I shall take such measures in concert with the Prince of Holland as may facilitate his views and eventually throw off the French yoke."³

The Prussians had only 50,000 men ready, and it was impossible to advance beyond the Elbe until the Russians arrived. At length the armies were prepared, and on April 24th Alexander and Frederick William led their troops into Dresden. The States of the Confederation could only be won to the side of the allies if a firm stand were made west of the Elbe, and on May 2nd the foes met at Lützen. No victory could be claimed by either side, but the Prussians, under Blücher, were driven back by Napoleon, and the French entered Dresden on May 14th. Still the allies were cheerful in their march towards the Silesian fortresses, for many troops were on the road to join them from Poland. At Bautzen, on May 20th, 90,000 men on each side again struggled for supremacy, and again neither could claim the laurels, for although Napoleon forced the allies back, they retreated in perfect order and without losing a single gun. A strange thing then

¹ A convention to this effect was afterwards signed at Peterswaldau, on July 6th, between England and Russia.

² Castlereagh to Cathcart, April 9, 1813. F. O. Records, Russia, 83.

³ Ibid., May 20. Ibid.

1813.
May and
June.

happened. Napoleon did not pursue the retiring army, and granted an armistice on June 4th for seven weeks. We are not concerned here with his reason for taking such a fatal step, but it seems probable that he required time in order to bring up the Italian army towards Vienna,¹ and thus to intimidate Austria into joining his force. He did not think that the Court of Vienna was already inclining to the side of the allies, and estimated the Austrian army at half its real strength. At first, indeed, the retreat of the armies after Bautzen seriously alarmed Vienna, but "when it was seen that the allies, instead of retiring with precipitation, moved at their leisure with the greatest order and regularity, the Emperor Francis immediately resumed the energetic tone he had taken and set out with Metternich for Gitchin."² In this same despatch it is stated that Caulaincourt had taken every opportunity of pointing out to Prussia the importance of making a separate peace with France without consulting Russia.

It seems now clear that Napoleon never expected Austria would join the allies, and that he thought Prussia could be induced to make peace with him and desert Russia. His envoy, Caulaincourt, indeed on every occasion pointed out how greatly it was to the interest of Prussia to be friends with France.³ The time, however, had now passed when either arguments or threats could alter the determination of the allied Powers.

Napoleon, although far superior as a soldier to any general he had met on the field, was no match in politics for that prince of diplomatists, Metternich. Not that the methods of the Austrian statesman were original or abstruse, for he merely waited to see on which side the pendulum was swinging, and then formulated his policy. Still, he had a plausible manner which was capable of misleading a far more analytical mind than Napoleon possessed. Austria intended to regain all the territory lost in 1809 and 1810 by peaceful means if possible, and if not, by war. Metternich therefore at once proposed a peace on the basis of the restora-

¹ "History of Modern Europe," Fyffe, vol. i. p. 496.

² Cathcart to Castlereagh, June 8, 1813. F. O. Records, Russia, 85.

³ Ibid.

tion to Austria of the Illyrian provinces, and of the surrender of the North German provinces annexed in 1810. Napoleon intended to make no surrender at all, and was negotiating merely to gain time until the Italian armies could arrive, and was in ignorance of the fact that Austria had now 200,000 men ready for the field. Metternich played his game with remarkable cleverness. He perplexed friend and foe alike. Castlereagh indeed became so anxious to discover his scheme that he wrote on June 30th and asked that the Prince Regent should be informed in the "most authentic and confidential manner of the views and intentions of the Austrian Cabinet."¹

1813.
June.

At the same time he authorised Cathcart to place £500,000 at the disposal of the Court of Vienna if Austria were drawn into hostilities, but stipulated that the money should be drawn gradually and ostensibly on commercial account.² Francis and Metternich, however, now required no bribe, for they had already secretly signed a treaty at Reichenbach on June 27th, and pledged themselves to join the allies if Napoleon refused their mediation. The British Cabinet, who had by this time heard of Wellington's victory at Vitoria, now clearly stated their conditions, and informed the Emperor of Russia that it was their intention to use the Peninsular army in the south of France. Great Britain would not be a party to any peace unless Spain, Portugal, and Sicily were secured under their legitimate sovereigns, unless Austria and Prussia were restored to such an extent of power as to balance the strength of France, unless Holland was rendered an independent State, unless Hanover was restored to Great Britain, and unless Switzerland and the remainder of Germany and Italy were placed in a position more conducive to the common safety of Europe.

Castlereagh now drew up a project for a treaty between the four Powers, and embodied the above points in a secret article.³

Meanwhile Napoleon had an interview with Metternich on June 26th, and hopelessly lost both his temper and his

¹ June 30, 1813. F. O. Records, Austria, 105.

² Castlereagh to Cathcart, June 30, 1813. F. O. Records, Russia, 83.

³ Ibid., July 6, 1813. Ibid.

1813. manners.¹ In a second interview on the 30th he was more
June. gracious, although he now realised that peace was impossible, and that he would be compelled to fight the whole of Europe united. Nevertheless his envoy, the Duke of Bassano, proposed to Metternich that a Congress should assemble at Prague or Vienna to which England, Spain, the Regency at Cadiz, and all the Powers engaged in the war might send plenipotentiaries. All the despatches were still drawn up in such a way as to separate the interests of Austria from those of the allies, and to make it appear that the Court of Vienna did not interfere "*comme arbitre mais comme mediatrice armée et parfaitement désintéressé.*" Metternich rejected the proposal, and the Duke wished to recall it, but this also was not permitted. Bassano was then told that Russia and Prussia had agreed to arbitrate, and asked if France would join. As Napoleon was willing to do so, Metternich and Bassano signed a Convention on June 30th, that—(1) Austria offers mediation; (2) France accepts it; (3) the plenipotentiaries of the four Powers are to assemble at Prague on July 5th; (4) the negotiations are to be prolonged until August 10th.²

It would seem, therefore, that notwithstanding his attitude and the tone of his letters, Napoleon was still striving to prevent the complete union of the Powers. This supposition is supported by the fact that Caulaincourt, who had pointed out on every occasion how important it was for Prussia to make a separate treaty with France without the intervention of Austria, was chosen by the Emperor to attend the Congress as one of the representatives of France. That statesman was indeed seriously alarmed at the prospect, and did not hesitate to say so, but Napoleon refused to make peace, and it is probable that his past experience caused him still to hope that some dispute might even yet occur in the allied camp.

On all sides the forces were gathering to crush him, and he knew that his armies were being driven from the Peninsular. He could, however, do no more than direct Soult to

¹ "Life of Napoleon I.," Holland Rose, vol. xi. p. 318.

² Cathcart to Castlereagh, July 8, 1813. F. O. Records, Russia, 86.

proceed at once to Spain, and take the conduct of the campaign from the hands of Joseph. 1813.
July.

The allies, on the other hand, were full of hope. Cheered by the victory of Vitoria, and taught by bitter experience the effects of dissension, they signed a firm compact on July 12th, at Trachenberg, which bound them to turn their whole forces against Napoleon, and while the Congress still sat the speakers knew they were merely enacting a farce before the curtain rose for the greatest drama in modern history. On all sides preparations were hurried on. The army of Sweden, under the Prince Royal, was ready to fall upon the enemy in the rear and both flanks, and it was decided that if Vienna were approached by Napoleon, the three main armies of the allies should be so directed as to preclude either supply or retreat.¹

Some surprise was now caused by the advent of a "person of title" from Naples who was sent to sound the Court of Vienna in case of war against France, and to make certain proposals "not loyal to the present connection between Naples and France." Murat, indeed, was prepared to desert his old master and join the allies; and Cathcart, although doubting if his co-operation would be welcomed by Austria, thought it would be convenient if he remained neutral.²

The suggestion of a concert between Austria, the English forces in Sicily, and the British squadron in the Adriatic met with more approval, and Cathcart also agreed that if the Tyrolese joined in the war, the expenses would be defrayed by Great Britain.³

Metternich also thoroughly approved of this arrangement, and Count Stadion informed Cathcart⁴ that the proposals of Austria were much altered since the commencement of the negotiations, and that they were now of such a nature that it was not at all likely Napoleon would agree to them.

Vienna indeed demanded that the French troops should at once be withdrawn from all the fortresses on the Oder and Vistula which were in the possession of France. These

¹ Cathcart to Castlereagh, July 12, 1813. F. O. Records, Russia, 86.

² Ibid., July 20, 1813. Ibid.

³ Ibid., July 26, 1813. Ibid.

⁴ For some inexplicable reason Metternich would not grant an interview to Cathcart. F. O. Records, Russia, 86.

1813.
July and
August.

proposals were not made, for the conference did not proceed beyond the preliminaries when the French envoys wished to meet all the plenipotentiaries; but Russia and Prussia only consented to treat through the mediating Power. All realised that peace was impossible, and when on August 10th the Congress dissolved itself, it was known that Austria had entered the war.¹

Early in August Lord Aberdeen was sent to Vienna with instructions similar to those already given to Cathcart. France was to be confined within the Pyrenees, the Alps and the Rhine; but if the other Powers were not willing to enforce this demand the British Government would not attempt "to dictate to other States a perseverance in war." Nevertheless, Castlereagh pointed out that the present conditions were very favourable for the allies. A British, Spanish, and Portuguese force of 150,000 men was on the Pyrenees;² a large Swedish army had arrived in the north of Germany, ready to act against Bonaparte, and led by one of his most celebrated generals; and another army, similarly commanded, would probably be brought against him. If indeed Murat renewed his overtures to Vienna, Aberdeen was at liberty to conclude a convention with Austria, for Italy evidently wished to throw off the French yoke. Murat would then be given a suitable establishment in the centre of Italy. The Prince Regent wished to see the "House of Austria resume its ancient preponderance in the north of Italy, and would like to see Venice in His Imperial Majesty's hands." He also desired to restore the Pope to his dominions. The hereditary Prince of Sicily now proposed to secure the help of Murat by ceding to him the kingdom of Naples for an equivalent elsewhere, and England had no objection to

¹ On August 12th Cathcart wrote that he had received Castlereagh's instructions that the Prince Regent would now accept the mediation of Austria, but the Emperor of Russia thought that any overture of the kind would be a mistake, as there "was no reason to believe France seriously wished to treat for peace." Cathcart therefore decided to make no suggestion to Metternich or Stadion. F. O. Records, Russia, 86.

² The Courts of Vienna and Russia recommended that the allied armies should make an irruption into the south of France, but Wellington stated it was impossible from a military point of view until his rear had been secured by the fall of Pampeluna and St. Sebastian. Castlereagh to Aberdeen, August 30, 1813. F. O. Records, Austria, 105.

the plan if it were necessary.¹ The allies gained by the armistice, and so did Napoleon, for it gave him time to train his conscripts. He now not only held the river Elbe, but as his headquarters were at Dresden, Austria was threatened on the side of Bavaria; while Murat, in answer to his peremptory command, ended his dallying with the allies, and joined the French on August 14th. A description of the campaign which followed cannot be included in this work, and suffice it to say that although Napoleon gained an initial victory at Dresden over the Austrian army commanded by Schwarzenberg, Oudinot was defeated at Grossbeeren on August 23rd by the Prussians, Macdonald succumbed to 100,000 Russians and Prussians commanded by Blücher at the river Katzbach on the 26th, and Vandamme was taken prisoner with 10,000 men at Kulm four days later. The French had already lost nearly 100,000 men, and worse was to come. Ney was met by the Prussian General Bülow at Dennewitz, and totally routed on September 6th. The allies then closed around Dresden, and compelled Napoleon to fall back on Leipzig, where on October 16th and the three following days was fought the greatest battle in history. The allies attacked 170,000 French with 300,000 men. The fearful struggle lasted three days, and 40,000 French tasted metal before the town was stormed and Napoleon retreated with the remnants of his staff, leaving 260 guns and 38,000 prisoners in the hands of his conquerors. The great General Bonaparte was defeated. The Emperor Napoleon now endeavoured to retrieve his fortune by the art of diplomacy. He had divided the allies often, and he hoped to do so again. Once more he played upon the jealousy of Austria, and wrote from Dresden on September 25th to the Emperor Francis, stating that he wished for peace, and that a continuation of the war would only lead to the ruin of France and Germany, and benefit Russia and England. Four days later Francis answered from Teplitz that he would communicate this overture to England, Russia, and Prussia.² The Court of Vienna was now acting in an open straightforward manner, but Metter-

1813.
August to
October.

¹ Instructions to Lord Aberdeen. F. O. Records, Austria, 101.

² From Lord Aberdeen. F. O. Records, Austria, 102. This letter is not published in the correspondence of Napoleon.

1813.
Novem-
ber.

nich knew he was not yet trusted in England. Castlereagh at this time indeed had a poor opinion of him, and wrote to Aberdeen: "I am inclined to think it is best to make a hero of him, and, by giving him a reputation, to excite him to sustain it."¹

Metternich had however decided, and did not again waver. He arranged a treaty of alliance with Russia and another with Prussia, and both were signed on September 9th at Teplitz. They were identical in wording. The territories of the three Powers were guaranteed, and each agreed to help the others with 60,000 men if attacked, while every state in the Rhenish Confederation was declared to be independent. In a secret article in the treaty between Prussia and Austria, England agreed to give to the Court of Vienna one million livres.² An attempt was now made to separate Denmark from France. England proffered the hand of friendship, and agreed to restore the fleet taken at Copenhagen and all the Danish conquests with the exception of Heligoland, provided that suitable arrangements could be secured for Sweden.³

It is necessary to pause and take breath. To realise the vastness of the issues, the complexity of the questions to be settled, and the magnitude of the opposing forces, taxes our imagination to the utmost. Fortunately nothing during the lives of any of us can compare with the events of this period. Now in our greatest campaigns we perhaps lose as many men in a year as Napoleon sacrificed in a week. Now statesmen wrangle over the manner of appointing school teachers: then they were engaged in crowning monarchs and arranging the succession of dynasties. Now the whole country is agitated at the prospect of a small revision of customs duties: then nations endeavoured to ruin each other by actual blockade. Now our Foreign Office is chiefly concerned with the designs of Russia in the deserts of Asia: then it was engaged in settling the boundaries of the states of Europe. Now many are perturbed if a clergyman

¹ From Castlereagh to Aberdeen. F. O. Records, Austria 101. "Metternich opened himself to my brother, and knew that he was not confided in by England, and did not wonder at it."

² F. O. Records, Austria, 105.

³ To Lord Aberdeen. F. O. Records, Austria, 101.

attempts some small innovation in the ritual of his service: then the Pope was violently removed from his throne by force of arms, and restored by the combined action of the Powers. Now the enmity of nations for the most part expends itself in violent newspaper abuse and disgusting cartoons: then it occasioned the thunder of guns and the clashing of sabres.

1813.
November.

How much cause is there for rejoicing that the great issues of those days no longer call for settlement, and that the campaigns of these are fought in a more humane manner and occasion less bloodshed.

The Napoleonic Empire had received a fatal wound. Born in the throes of revolution, nurtured upon fascinating and plausible theories of the rights of man, added to by force and intrigue, held together only by arms, the medley of States which had never for one moment been welded into an Empire by any common interest or feeling, and only desired their freedom, had at length burst their bonds. And of the man himself—no longer was the conqueror of Jena and Austerlitz invincible, and no longer could the schemer of Tilsit and Vienna awe into submission the Courts of Europe. He who had invaded so many countries was now to be chased back into his own, followed by relentless enemies. Blucher and Gneisenau were in favour of an immediate advance, but were not supported, and it was decided to suspend hostilities and to offer peace to Napoleon. At Frankfort on November 9th the terms were made known to him. He would be permitted to retain Savoy, Belgium, and the Rhenish provinces, but would have to surrender his conquests beyond the Rhine and the Alps. He was requested to give an answer before the end of November, and when the time expired without a reply, it was decided to enter France. The allies intended to act together until the man as well as the Empire was crushed, but were by no means confiding in or trustful of each other. Now that the land of Europe had been wrested from its conqueror, curiosity was aroused as to the future action of the Mistress of the Seas. Having utilised England as a general fund-provider and money-lender during the war, Russia, Prussia, and Austria were now anxious that the Prince Regent should state what cessions he was prepared to

1813.
Decem-
ber.

make for the common cause, and what aid he proposed to give in case the war continued. This preposterous request was made by Russia, and Cathcart promptly answered that he would make no statement before the general settlement was discussed.¹

The wishes and intentions of the allies now assembled at Frankfort are so clearly stated by Lord Cathcart that we cannot do better than give his despatch: "It is considered better to admit only Powers of the first order to the treaty, which should be a quadruple one between Great Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia. The allies here recognise: (1) France as the great land Power which has overrun, injured, or oppressed almost all Europe; (2) Great Britain, who has conquered all the islands and has the dominions of the sea; and (3) the other Powers of Europe. Two of these classes are now opposed to the third, and the allies invite England to state in a secret article what restitution she will make and what retain. The Emperor of Russia proposes to send a project to Count Lieven in London on these points. . . . Metternich thinks that the amount of the subsidy can be left to a separate treaty, but is very tenacious of the argument in favour of a secret article concerning the retrocessions of the conquests of Great Britain."²

Castlereagh also replied to Count Lieven in London that he could not understand why Great Britain "should stipulate as to her conquests, whilst Russia and the other Powers were to remain free as to the ultimate destination of the territories occupied by their arms." He therefore declined, "until some better ground was urged than mere distrust."³

The four allied Powers now invited the Prince Regent to send a plenipotentiary to the Continent, and Castlereagh was therefore chosen and given full powers to treat; but if he were asked what conquests Great Britain was prepared to restore, he was to state that England would not

¹ From Cathcart, November 11, 1813. F. O. Records, Russia, 87.

² Ibid., December 5, 1813. Ibid.

³ From Castlereagh to Cathcart, December 18, 1813. F. O. Records, Russia, 83.

deprive herself of her conquests in any material degree unless :—

1813.
Decem-
ber.

(1) France was absolutely excluded from any naval establishment on the Scheldt, and especially at Antwerp; and

(2) Holland was secured from attack by France by a barrier including Antwerp.

Malta was to remain British. The Mauritius could not be restored to France, as it would be injurious to the safety of Indian commerce. The Dutch colonies were to be restored to Holland, except the Cape of Good Hope, which was essential to the position of Great Britain in the East; but in lieu of this the Government were prepared to appropriate £2,000,000 to improve the Dutch barrier. No objection was to be urged if Austria proposed the settlement of the Archduke Charles in the Netherlands, and the Prince of Orange was to be discouraged from any attempt to extend Holland on the side of the Netherlands beyond the ancient limits, without the express consent of the allies. If Austria connected herself with Murat, the Sicilian family were to have Tuscany and Elba. The Pope was to be restored to the estates of the Church. The Danish conquests, with the exception of Heligoland, were to be made instruments to the execution of the British engagements with Sweden. The King of Sardinia was to be restored, perhaps receiving Genoa in exchange for Savoy. If a general peace were signed, Great Britain was ready to arrange terms with America on the basis of their positions before the war. A subsidy of £5,000,000 might be granted under the following provisos:—

(1) Reserve as to the sending home of the Russian fleet;
(2) The acceptance, if required, of a proportion of the money in credit bills;

(3) The signing of such engagements, and especially with respect to Holland and the Peninsular, as may justify so great an exertion on the part of Great Britain.

The Treaty of Alliance was not to terminate with the war, but to contain defensive engagements with mutual obligations to support the Powers attacked by France, with a certain extent of stipulated succours. The *casus fœderis* was to be an attack by France on the European dominions of any one of the contracting parties.

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ber.

Spain and Holland were to be contracting parties, but Sweden, being beyond the Baltic, had an interest not to participate.¹

Armed with these instructions, Castlereagh set out for the Continent.

¹ Continent (Archives), Paris, 1.

CHAPTER XXIX

A new base necessary for the army in the Peninsular—Soult arrives in Spain—Battle of Sorauren—Siege of St. Sebastian—The border crossed—Battle of the Nivelle—Napoleon negotiates unsuccessfully with Ferdinand—Battle of Orthes—Beresford enters Bordeaux—Battle of Toulouse—End of the Peninsular Campaign—Negotiations with the Powers—The Prussians enter France—Congress of Chatillon—Compact of Chaumont—Decision to restore the Bourbons—Napoleon endeavours to cut the Austrian communications—Surrender of Paris to the allies—Louis XVIII. declared King of France—Treaty of Paris—Effects of the war—Condition of Canada—War between England and the United States—Initial successes of the English—Alexander offers to intervene—Capture of Washington—Convention of Ghent.

THE battle of Vitoria settled the fate of Spain, but the flight ¹⁸¹³ of the French army ceased with the command of King Joseph, and many hard battles were fought before the invaders were finally driven back over the Pyrenees. Portugal was now relinquished for the last time, and without regret. It was thus necessary to secure a new base for the army nearer the seat of warfare, and to arrange that the advance over the frontier should not be interrupted by an attack from Suchet, who was prepared to move against the right flank of the army in great force at any moment. The allied army had, indeed, been very unfortunate in other parts of Spain, for Sir John Murray¹ had lost his battering train and been obliged to raise the siege of Tarragona, the French fortresses in Catalonia and Valencia had not been reduced, and the Anglo-Sicilian army could not act for want of a strong base. Wellington decided, therefore, to blockade Pampeluna, and besiege St. Sebastian with the hope of capturing it before the negotiations now proceeding in Germany terminated. It possessed a convenient harbour, and was in an excellent position for a base. The works were not considered formidable,² and it was easy to cut the

¹ Murray explained that he had only 13,000 men, and that Suchet's force in Valencia was 23,000 or 24,000 men. Murray to Wellington, "Supplementary Despatches," vol. viii. p. 23.

² See Major Smith's note on St. Sebastian. *Ibid.*, p. 42.

1813. water-supply. Graham therefore commenced the siege on July 9th, the place being defended by General Rey, a skilful and determined commander. A breach was soon made, but to reach it a neck of sand covered by water at high tide had to be crossed. As the depth, however, was only a foot or two no difficulty was expected, and an assault was ordered. Unfortunately this was made a day too late, when there was an unusual tide, and the water was so deep that the troops could not wade through.¹ A few, however, reached the breach, where they found the defence so well arranged that the attempt had to be abandoned.² The siege was therefore converted into a blockade.

Soult arrived on July 13th, and hastened to collect the remnants of the four great French armies, and to fashion from them "the army of Spain," with which he intended to advance to the relief of Pampeluna and St. Sebastian. The official returns of the French force in the Peninsular show that 180,000 troops with 20,000 horses were still employed against Spain in July 1813, but Soult could only collect about 77,500 troops and 7000 horses.³ Although most of these were seasoned troops, they were to a great extent demoralised by the incompetence of their late commander and by their recent defeats. Soult therefore realised that it was necessary to strike at once in order to restore the discipline and morale of his troops.

He divided the whole army into three corps, of which Clausel commanded the left at St. Jean Pied de Port, D'Erlon the centre near Espelette, and Reille the right on the mountains overlooking Vera. On the 25th D'Erlon advanced to attack the pass of Maya. General Stewart was surprised, but his troops fought against overwhelming numbers in a most heroic manner until the arrival of a brigade under General Barnes restored the balance and held the pass.⁴ Soult himself, at the head of Clausel's Division, advanced the same day

¹ Sir Herbert Maxwell, on the authority of the De Ros MS. "Life of Wellington," vol. i. p. 331.

² Report of Sir T. Graham, "Wellington Supplementary Despatches," vol. viii. p. 129. Report of Col. Fletcher. *Ibid.*, p. 130.

³ Napier's "Peninsular War," vol. vi. appendix.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. v. p. 220. The British loss was 1400 men and four guns; the French, 1500 men.

against Byng and Cole, and by sheer weight forced the allies to retire from the Roncesvalles passes. 1813.
July.

To stop any further reverses Wellington concentrated his forces hastily at Sorauren, and fought a pitched battle there on July the 28th, the fourth anniversary of Talavera. Clausel's columns advanced with great steadiness to turn the allies' left, but were caught between two fires and forced to retire. Soon after the action became general along the whole line, and a hand to hand conflict ensued which lasted all day. Both sides charged repeatedly and captured positions, only to be in turn driven from them, until the French withdrew, after losing 1800 troops killed and wounded out of 20,000 engaged. The next day Soult was reinforced by D'Erlon's column from the pass of Maya, and Lord Dalhousie arrived to support Hill on the allied left. Having found that a frontal attack was hopeless, the French Marshal now moved to his right with the object of dislodging Hill and relieving St. Sebastian, while Reille remained at Sorauren to mask the movement. Wellington correctly divined his intention, and sent Dalhousie to attack the French right, while Picton moved round their left flank, and Pakenham and Cole went straight for the centre. Everywhere the allies were successful; the French were driven from the village and heights, and pursued in confusion as far as Olague, which was behind Soult's attack upon Hill.¹

Great as was the victory, its strategic importance was still greater, for it obliged Soult to beat a hasty retreat to avoid being surrounded. Through the difficult pass of Dona Maria he made his way on the night of the 30th as rapidly as possible, steadily chased by Hill, who overtook and severely punished his rear-guard on the next day.

Once more Soult rallied at Echellar on August 2nd, but his troops would no longer stand, and the British forces re-occupied the passes of Maya and Roncesvalles without much opposition, while Wellington established himself near Lesaca.² Meanwhile Murray had been recalled to be court-martialled,

¹ The French lost 2000 killed and wounded and 3000 prisoners, while the allies lost 1900 killed and wounded, of whom 1200 were Portuguese. "Life of Wellington," Maxwell, vol. i. p. 336.

² Soult had lost between 12,000 and 15,000 men. *Ibid.*, p. 337.

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August.

and superseded by Lord William Bentinck, who had crossed the Ebro and was now investing Tarragona; thus the allies were in touch from the Mediterranean to the Bay of Biscay, whereas Suchet could only communicate with Soult through France.

The siege of St. Sebastian was once more vigorously resumed, although the absence of a sufficient naval force at sea had enabled the besieged to be strongly reinforced with men and guns. The Admiralty has been strongly condemned¹ for its negligence. It appears, however, that the officials thought Wellington only required protection for his convoys, and not that he expected St. Sebastian should be closely blockaded. The American War had also taxed the naval resources of the country heavily, and the demand for troops had affected recruiting in the navy.² At length a new battering train arrived from England, fire was opened on the town, and it was taken by assault on August 31st, after the siege had cost the allies 2300 casualties. Even now the brave garrison would not yield, and retired to the castle, which was situated on a rocky promontory beyond the town. Fifty-nine guns summoned the fortress to surrender, and drilled a hole in its wall. Troops were then ordered for the assault, but General Rey, wishing to avoid any useless waste of life, capitulated on September 8th.

Wellington now wished to postpone his advance until Catalonia was made secure. The Courts of Vienna and St. Petersburg were, however, anxious that the allied army should invade France, and the British Government had no objection to the scheme.³

In the darkness of early morning, on October 7th, the brigade of Lord Aylmer and the 5th Division groped their way over the sands at the mouth of the Bidassoa, and stood at length on French soil. So quietly was the movement effected that the enemy were driven from their works and six guns captured before any serious resistance was offered. Higher up the river Freyre was equally successful, and

¹ Napier violently attacks the Government for negligence, but the correspondence shows that the rapid advance of Wellington was quite unexpected in London.

² "Life of Wellington," Sir Herbert Maxwell, vol. i. p. 340.

³ F. O. Records, Austria, 101. "Wellington Despatches," vol. xi. p. 124.

turned the left of the enemy from their strong position at Biriātu. The chief resistance was made in the centre. Here the great rock of La Rhune towered above the town of Vera, and was protected by line after line of entrenchments. It seemed impregnable, but the Andalusians, led by Giron, with faultless courage scrambled up the hill to the very edge of the French ditches. Again and again they toiled up the ascent, and were driven back by the stubborn defenders. At length after two days the repeated assaults, ever gaining in vigour, broke down the nerves of the French, and they evacuated the position. Wellington then advanced and entered Vera.

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August.

Here he heard of the earlier defeats of the French in Germany, and that Pampeluna had surrendered. Cheered by the news, he prepared for another duel with Soult, whose position now extended from Ainhoue across the Nivelle to the sea, a distance of twelve miles. Reille faced Hope on the right, Clausel was opposite Beresford in the centre, while D'Erlon was still the antagonist of Hill on the left. The battle was fought on November 10th. Reille was most strongly placed, and Wellington therefore advanced his right and centre. Otherwise the action resolved itself into a plain, hard frontal attack, which was maintained until the enemy yielded, when the whole line of the allies, eight miles in length, wheeled to the left, with Hope's position as a pivot. Both sides fought with steady persistence the whole day. The enemy were only slowly driven by cold steel from their ditches and works, which had required weeks of labour to construct. At length the last man fell back, and the victors rested on their arms, while 1500 tired prisoners and 50 guns were marched to the rear. With sullen countenance and heavy hearts the captured French received the hospitality of their conquerors. They had heard some terrible news. In one of the redoubts was found a copy of the *Imperial Gazette*, which contained an account of Napoleon's total defeat at Leipzig. This was carried to Wellington. That night he invited some of the captured officers to mess with him, and as the cheering wine revived their tired bodies and drooping spirits, he inquired for news of their Emperor and the French army. "Monseigneur, il n'y a ni quartier

1813.
Novem-
ber.

général, ni armée française; l'affaire est finie!" was the reply.¹

The great soldier had been vanquished himself in open battle, and, for the moment, his subalterns were amazed and stupefied. But, Emperor or no Emperor, La Patrie remained; and every soldier fights best with his face to his frontier. Soult wasted no time in vain regrets, either for his Emperor's or his own misfortunes. He established himself strongly at Bayonne, and sent D'Erlon to reinforce Foy at Cambo. Wellington therefore ordered Hill to dislodge the French from the Cambo passage. Up to their necks in the strong current the troops forded the Nive, and Foy beat a hasty retreat after destroying the bridge and all his works. Still the main roads were held by the enemy, and as the guns could not be dragged over the heavy wet soil, the army was placed in cantonments. During the next month only a few skirmishes took place, and then Wellington decided to force the passage of the Nive, and thus cut Soult's communication with St. Jean Pied de Port. As both bridges at Ustaritz had been destroyed by the enemy, the 6th Division crossed on December 9th over pontoons, and drove D'Armagnac's brigade before them, while Hill forded the river near Cambo and found himself opposed to Foy, who again retreated. Next day Soult, seeing the allies were divided by the river, made a sudden and violent attack on Hope's position at Arcangues.² Campbell's Portuguese received the blow, but stubbornly held their ground. The 5th and Light Divisions then arrived, and later in the day the Guards also approached to their aid. The allies now possessed the advantage, and the French retreated in the dusk. Still Soult did not relax his effort. Rapidly marching 35,000 men through Bayonne on the night of the 12th, he made a violent attack upon Hill, but was driven back after suffering severely.³

¹ "Wellington Despatches," vol. xi. p. 275. "Life of Wellington," Sir Herbert Maxwell, vol. i. p. 357.

² Hope's orders were to make a reconnaissance, and not to push the attack home if the enemy's forces proved greater than was supposed. "Supplementary Despatches," vol. viii. p. 412. Report of Sir J. Hope. *Ibid.*, pp. 419, 420.

³ The loss to the allies in the five days' fighting, from December 9th to the 13th, was 5019 men, of whom 500 were prisoners. Napier's "Peninsular War," vol. v. p. 411.

The French were now to experience another loss. The regiments of Nassau and Frankfort were ordered by their Prince, who had joined the allies, to march into the British camp, where they were received with cheers. The French armies everywhere were being beaten and deserted, and Napoleon for the first time in his life was seriously in need of troops. He resorted once more to diplomacy, therefore, and offered to restore Ferdinand to his throne and withdraw Suchet's force from Catalonia, if the British army would also evacuate the Peninsular. Such a childish proposal could deceive no one. The Cortes stated that they would recognise no act of their King while he remained a prisoner, and refused to consider the offer themselves. The cause of the Emperor was indeed dead. On all sides the French peasantry were enthusiastic for the restoration of the Bourbons and friendly to the English, whose honest dealings entirely won their confidence and esteem.

1814.
February.

The allies left their cantonments in the second week of February and the advance continued. Hill drove the French from Hellette; while Beresford engaged them at Hastings, and thus drew them from Hope, who was directed to cross the Adour between Bayonne and the sea.¹

On the 23rd this was effected safely while the attention of Soult was engaged in manœuvring his centre and left. The next day the naval squadron arrived at the river mouth, and as both banks were now held, a strong bridge was soon built, ready for the guns and baggage.² The position of Bayonne was thus turned, and Wellington again prepared to advance. Again Soult faced him in a strong position at Orthes.

Beresford crossed the river without opposition, and marched the left wing of the army up the right bank towards Orthes, while Hill advanced straight to the bridge. Finding these were both defended and mined, he crossed over pontoons early on the 27th and took up his position as the right wing. Wellington, after carefully scanning the position of the enemy, directed Beresford to advance and turn their right at St. Boes, while an attack was made

¹ Instruction for the movement of part of the army. "Wellington Supplementary Despatches," vol. viii. p. 581.

² From Sir John Hope to Wellington. "Supplementary Despatches," vol. viii. p. 589 *et seq.*

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February.

by Clinton and Lord Edward Somerset against the centre and left. After hard fighting the village of St. Boes was carried, but the key of the position, a hill behind it, was still held by the enemy. Again and again the 4th Division advanced to the attack, only to be repulsed after terrible carnage. At length the noble 52nd forced their way up the hill and held the summit. Slowly the whole line of the enemy now commenced to retreat, in ignorance of the fact that Hill had barred the road to Pau with 13,000 men. At length the living cordon became apparent, and the whole French army fled in every direction pursued by the Hussars, who only stayed their deadly work when night forbade the aim of the swinging sabres. The loss on both sides was very heavy, and Wellington himself was touched; the only time he was hurt in the whole of his campaigns. A grape or musket shot struck the hilt of his sword and drove it into his hip; but fortunately he was not seriously injured, and was able to remount his horse.

At the end of the day the French force was found to be reduced by 7000 men, while the allies lost a third of that number.

Soult retreated to Tarbet on the Adour, and Beresford entered Bordeaux, where he was received with enthusiasm, while with dramatic fervour the mayor cast aside the tricolor and donned the white cockade. Wellington had no instructions to attempt a restoration, but this news so strongly influenced the British Government that they actually wrote to Castlereagh and urged him to break off the negotiations, so that the French could of their own accord overthrow Bonaparte.¹ Before anything could be done, the brave and indefatigable Soult once more turned at bay. Beresford therefore retired from Bordeaux and joined the main army.

¹ From Bathurst to Castlereagh, March 22, 1814. Relates that Wellington has sent home news of the reception of Beresford in Bordeaux, and that he (Wellington) has no doubt that if negotiations are broken off and a declaration in favour of the Ancient Dynasty is made by the allies, the flame would spread from one end of the country to the other and overturn Bonaparte. Then follows in cipher:—"The Prince Regent has commanded me therefore to instruct your Lordship to persuade the allies to break off negotiations, as such a proceeding can alone put the French nation to the test." F. O. Records, Continent (Archives), 1.

Soon after the whole force followed the retreating enemy towards Toulouse. On March 27th the allies were opposite the town on the left bank of the Garonne, but as the bridges had been destroyed they could not effect a crossing until a week later, when the pontoons arrived and were placed in position below the town. Beresford at once crossed with 18,000 men, and the remainder of the army was preparing to follow when the pontoons were carried away by a flood. These were speedily replaced, and all crossed in safety. On April 10th was fought the battle of Toulouse. Freyre with the Spaniards opened with a fierce frontal attack, while Beresford moved round the right flank of the enemy. The French fought steadily, bravely, and with great skill, but were overpowered, and Soult was obliged to withdraw his columns into the town. Here the fear of being invested overcame him, and leaving the place stealthily on the night of April 12th, he escaped along the road to Villefranche. Next day the white flag of the Bourbons was unfurled from the citadel staff and Wellington entered the town at the head of his victorious army. That night tidings arrived from Paris of the abdication of the Emperor and the formation of a provisional government. Unfortunately, before the news could be handed on, a sortie was made from Bayonne. The enemy were repulsed, but Sir John Hope was wounded and taken prisoner. This was the last drop of blood shed during the Peninsular campaign, which had lasted nearly six years, and which had been brought to a successful close by sheer hard labour, directed by the skilful generalship of one man who never turned, and never wavered in his fixed determination to carry out the almost impossible task he found it his duty to perform. Every conceivable obstacle had to be overcome. At home the Government were at first chary of funds and troops, and prolific only in useless advice, and if later they afforded their General more help, he was still hampered in his actions by the feeble, suspicious, and jealous Government of Portugal. At first the Spanish generals were absolutely unreliable, and the troops merely impedimenta which required feeding. Wellington stood alone in the conception, in the planning and in the execution of his scheme for saving the Peninsular. He owed nothing to luck, except that

1814.
March.

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April. the Government for once chose the best man. Every battle that he fought, every siege he conducted, every order he gave, shows the impress of careful thought and deep knowledge. Some military critics may cavil at his actions here and there, but the fact remains that he conceived and carried out a gigantic task in the face of almost insuperable difficulties. Of his gallant comrades-in-arms, how can one express a greater appreciation than that of Wellington himself when he said: "I could have done anything with that army; it was in such splendid order."

While Wellington was crossing the Pyrenees the allies in Central Europe were advancing into France from the east. It is necessary now to retrace our steps and take up the thread of the narrative at Leipzig. A fallen man speedily finds himself alone, and the first to desert him are those who hoped to gain by his friendship or feared to lose by his enmity. Napoleon experienced this now. Murat made an alliance with Austria, and promised 30,000 men in return for a guarantee of his throne. Denmark broke away from France, ceded Heligoland to England, and agreed to give Norway to Sweden in exchange for an indemnity in Germany. Sweden agreed formally to join the allies in the struggle against France if the union with Norway were recognised, and if the Bishopric of Drontheim and the fortresses of Fredericshall and Konsvingen were ceded to her.¹

Austria had long since given up all desire to reoccupy her ancient possessions in the Netherlands, and now agreed with England that a strong barrier between France and Holland was very necessary. Metternich indeed suggested for the consideration of England a line from Cologne or Coblenz through the country of Liege to Antwerp as the frontier of Holland;² then, for the frontier of France, the bank of the Rhine to Basle, and along the ancient Swiss boundary, whence the line was continued by Piedmont to the Mediterranean in the country of Nice. The fortresses of Mayence, Brisach, and Hunnigen would then have to be destroyed.³

¹ Aberdeen to Castlereagh, Basle, January 6, 1814. F. O. Records, Austria, 107.

² Ibid., Basle, January 18, 1814. Ibid.

³ Ibid., Basle, January 9, 1814. Ibid.

While the allies were negotiating, they were also advancing their armies so rapidly that Napoleon was astounded at their progress. Bulow and Graham overran Holland, while Schwarzenberg led the allied army into France by Basle, Belfort and Langres, and thus enabled Blucher with the army of Silesia to advance into Lorraine.

1814.
January.

Napoleon, after an impassioned appeal to his courtiers in Paris to protect his wife and son, left the capital and joined his army at Chalons-sur-Marne. On January 29th he attacked Blucher and attained an initial success, which was more than counterbalanced a few days later when he was defeated at La Rothiere, and lost 73 guns and 3000 prisoners. He then hastened to Troyes with a force which daily diminished in numbers, for, demoralised by hunger and defeat, many of his troops deserted on the way. A brisk pursuit would promptly have ended the campaign, when unfortunately the green demon once more appeared in the allied camp. Now that Napoleon seemed incapable of further mischief, Austria became alarmed at the intentions of Russia and Prussia in Poland. Important questions affecting Denmark and Switzerland also remained to be settled and, above all, the future of the French monarchy. At present Alexander alone urged that Napoleon should be dethroned, while Metternich was in favour of leaving him as head of the French Government, if he would agree that the area of France should be the same as in 1791. Castlereagh, who had left Bathurst as Foreign Secretary, now arrived at the opportune moment, and smoothed matters by quietly assuring Metternich that England would resist both the designs of Russia on Poland and the absorption of Saxony by Prussia.

Alexander was by far the most active spirit among the allies, and wished to push on for Paris at once and there dictate terms. The other Powers would not agree to this, and, instead, negotiations were opened with Napoleon on February 5th at Chatillon-sur-Seine. Caulaincourt attended for the Emperor, and was at once informed that the allies demanded that France should be reduced to its ancient limits and should renounce all sovereignty over Italy, Germany, and Switzerland. The French envoy was in a very

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February.

difficult position. He was extremely desirous to promote peace, but was also very anxious not to offend his Imperial master. He therefore hesitated, and then asked what England would restore, and what was to be the fate of the cessions of France. Count Stadion, the Austrian plenipotentiary, however, insisted that Caulaincourt should first answer the demands of the allies, and when he refused to do so, the conference was suspended.¹ Pens were laid down and swords unsheathed once more. Schwarzenberg proceeded to crawl along the Seine towards Troyes, while Blucher, with his troops carelessly scattered, returned to the Marne for an advance on Paris. Suddenly, like a meteor, Napoleon himself with 30,000 men appeared at the centre of the long Prussian line at Champaubert and overwhelmed a weak Russian corps there; then, wheeling to the left, he doubled up Blucher's vanguard at Montmirail and severely handled the five corps of the army of Silesia. Next he attacked and defeated Blucher himself, who was quite ignorant of the movements of his formidable antagonist, and forced him to fall back on Chalons. Napoleon then hastened south-west to check Schwarzenberg, and on February 18th defeated the forces of the Crown Prince of Wurtemberg on the north bank of the Seine opposite Montereau.

It was obvious that more diplomacy was now necessary, and the Congress at Chatillon was renewed; but Caulaincourt had in the meantime written to Metternich and stated he was willing to agree that France should be restricted within her ancient limits. The allies were therefore prepared with a project of a Preliminary Treaty, and Caulaincourt was well pleased at the prospect of bringing the matter to a satisfactory conclusion. Still he was very anxious to learn what was to be the fate of the King of Saxony, who had gained the distinction of being the only monarch created by Napoleon who had neither deserted him nor been crushed by the allies. The French envoy was promptly informed that, as an article in the treaty expressly forbade the interference of

¹ From Aberdeen, Chatillon, February 5. F. O. Records, Austria, 107.

France in any European arrangements, his question could not be answered.¹ 1814.
February.

Napoleon now played his last card. It was from the suit which stimulates the chief weakness of men, the appeal to their jealousy and pride. He wrote to the Emperor Francis and asked why should he follow the lead of England and Russia? Why should he give up his former Belgian provinces to a Dutch Prince? Then he stated that he was willing to make peace on the basis of the Frankfort terms.²

He need not have troubled to write, for what he wished to arouse was already rampant. Metternich and Hardenberg had indeed become seriously alarmed, and had signed a compact on February 14th to oppose any undue demands of Russia. The success of Napoleon, however, caused him once more to raise his terms, and once more common danger conquered individual jealousy, and welded the alliance.

At a conference held on February 28th, Napoleon was asked for a specific answer to the demands of the allies within ten days.³ Furthermore, the Powers signed a compact at Chaumont on March 9th, which bound them not to treat singly for peace, and to force Napoleon to accept the ancient frontiers of France. Each of the four Powers agreed to maintain 150,000 men in the field, and Great Britain promised to furnish a subsidy of £500,000 for the year 1814. This arrangement was to hold good, if necessary, for twenty years. The Government were now prepared to issue a joint manifesto with the other Powers, stating that, in their opinion, a restoration of the ancient race of sovereigns in the person of the head of the House of Bourbon would afford the best prospect of ensuring permanent happiness. The despatch, however, continues: "It is not advisable to adopt any measure which would preclude the allies from making peace with the Government of France in whatever hands it might be placed."⁴

This was written before the entry of Beresford into Bordeaux. It is probable that the character of his reception had some effect on ministerial opinion. It was becoming apparent

¹ From Aberdeen, Chatillon, February 17, 1814. F. O. Records, Austria, 107.

² Correspondence of Napoleon.

³ From Aberdeen, Chatillon, February 28, 1814. F. O. Records, Austria, 107.

⁴ Bathurst to Castlereagh, February 27, 1814. Continent (Archives), 1.

1814.
March.

also that delay was in the interest of Napoleon, for he knew the extreme terms which would be enforced in the event of any military calamity, and that if in the meantime he should be successful, he would be able to raise his pretensions. The Government therefore urged Castlereagh to hurry on the settlement, and as it was now decided to restore the Bourbons, to break off all communication with Napoleon.¹ Before this despatch could be delivered, the conference had already concluded. Success had raised the hopes of Napoleon once more, and Caulaincourt, who had passionately laboured for peace, was ordered to demand the return to France of her colonies, commerce, and marine. This was of course promptly refused.²

Meanwhile Blücher marched northwards to join the army of Bernadotte. Napoleon followed, hoping to crush the Prussians before a junction could be effected, but was disappointed, for the armies united on March 4th, and marched towards Laon. He, however, attacked and defeated a Russian corps at Craonne. Marmont next suffered severely at the hands of Blücher, and the Emperor, unable to make any impression in the north, turned his face southward again to attack Schwarzenberg, who at once concentrated 100,000 men at Arcis-sur-Aube. Here Napoleon, with an army less than a third in number, attacked him on the 20th, expecting that, even if he were not defeated, he would retreat in the night. As this did not happen, Napoleon determined to march round his flank and cut off his communications with Germany. Schwarzenberg, acting on the advice of the Czar and King of Prussia, wisely neglected to follow, and steadily continued his journey to Paris, while Blücher at the same time advanced by the parallel road from Chalons. It was rightly judged that, if the capital fell, Napoleon's reign would be at an end. Sending a detachment of cavalry after the French to conceal their real purpose, the allies advanced, and it was not until the 27th that Napoleon discovered he was not being followed. At once he turned, and hastened at topmost speed to Paris, but arrived only to find that, after a feeble resistance

¹ Bathurst to Castlereagh, March 19 and 22, 1814. *Continents (Archives)*, 1.

² Protocol of March 18 and 19. *F. O. Records, Austria*, 107.

had been made by Marmont, the city had surrendered. The Parisians, accustomed to and delighting in frequent changes of Government, indeed welcomed the allies with enthusiasm, and the remains of the old noblesse were overcome with joy at the downfall of their self-appointed Emperor. The crowd surged with emotion, while the statesmen calmly continued the terms of settlement. Their business was to ensure the peace of Europe whoever was on the throne of France, and when Metternich and Castlereagh decided that the Bourbon King should be restored, they agreed that he should accept the peace which Bonaparte had refused.¹

1814.
March.

Much remained to be done. The whole of Europe had to be settled. The Government, anxious to carry out their treaties to the letter, now blockaded the ports of Norway, while Castlereagh discovered what steps the allies proposed to take, for no arrangement could be made between Sweden and England unless the treaty of March 24, 1812, between Russia and Sweden was executed.² At the same time the blockade of the French ports was raised, and the ships sailed to the south of France to remove the British troops, who, even after their six years' campaign, were required to win fresh laurels in America before seeking rest. As soon as it was decided to recall Louis XVIII., who had been wandering about an exile for twenty-five years, the French politicians, headed by Talleyrand, expressed their willingness to serve under a new master. On April 2nd the Senate therefore proclaimed that Napoleon was dethroned, and recalled the House of Bourbon. Then, acting on the advice of Alexander, who was imbued at present with liberal ideas, the new French Government issued a Constitution.³ Before the new love could be embraced, however, it was necessary to dispose of the old, and by a treaty signed on April 11th, Napoleon renounced all sovereignty, but kept his title. The Island of Elba was handed to him for life with an escort, while his Empress was given the Duchies

¹ Castlereagh to Lord Liverpool, Dijon, March 30, 1814. *Continent (Archives)*, 2.

² To Castlereagh, April 28, 1814. *F. O. Records, Austria*, 107.

³ Castlereagh writes on April 4th: "The Declaration which has been signed by the Emperor of Russia is not a very orthodox instrument, as it is a pledge to guarantee a Constitution without knowing what it is." *Continent (Archives)*, 2.

1814. of Parma, Plaisance, and Guastalla, and her son received
May. the title of Duke of Parma. The King gave his assurance to "adopt every measure that can tranquillise and conciliate the nation," and arrived in Paris on May 3rd to assume his royal function.

Now that the common danger was removed, Castlereagh feared there would be difficulties in coming to terms,¹ and Talleyrand hoped that the allies would not ratify any treaty until the King had assumed his full authority. The first project drawn up by the French Government was indeed very unsatisfactory. It was silent upon the cession of St. Lucie and Tobago, demanded three English islands in the Gulf of Mexico in return for Mauritius, and laid claim to everything in the ceded fortresses except the Dutch ships. Castlereagh writes, however: "I was in time to stop this, and the second project was nearer to our ideas." Talleyrand was also opposed to any clause affecting the slave trade, for he thought it would be derogatory to the honour of the nation to make any arrangement in return for its colonies.²

Wellington now arrived to take part in the settlement, which was hurried on, and on May 30th the Treaty of Paris was duly drawn up and signed. By this it was agreed that France should resume her ancient frontiers, with some slight addition of territory, and England should retain the Mauritius, Tobago, St. Lucie, and the Dutch colonies which had been taken; that Holland should be greatly enlarged and restored to the House of Orange, and should receive £6,000,000 from England in exchange for the Cape of Good Hope, Demerara, and Curaçoa; that Switzerland should be independent; that Italy, with the exception of the Austrian provinces, should consist of independent states; that the Rhine should be thrown open to navigation; that Germany should be distributed among a number of sovereigns; and that a congress should assemble at Vienna to settle finally the details.

¹ "Am afraid there will be difficulties from the Emperor of Russia, who has, I think, more extensive views on the side of Poland than approved of by Hardenberg." From Castlereagh, Paris, May 4, 1814. *Continent (Archives)*, 2.

² From Castlereagh, May 15, 1814. *Continent (Archives)*, 2.

It was also stipulated in secret clauses that the allies without France should settle the question of territories at the Congress of Vienna; that the Southern Netherlands should be united with Holland as a barrier kingdom; that Austria should receive Venice and Northern Italy as far as the Ticino; and that the King of Sardinia should have Genoa. 1814.
June.

The twenty-year war was over. Hundreds of thousands of lives, hundreds of millions of money had been expended, and what was the net result? All the Powers gained territory except France. Great Britain added Malta, Ceylon, and the Cape of Good Hope to her dominions, and who can estimate their value? Who can say how greatly the addition of these small places has affected the destiny of the British Empire as a whole? Malta, although a tiny island, is capable of sheltering a large fleet. The route to India by the Suez Canal is thereby ensured, and the Mediterranean commanded. Ceylon is an outwork of India, and on the highway to Australia and the Far East. The Cape of Good Hope is the base from which South Africa has been conquered. The extraordinary value of these possessions is now apparent to every one, but what marvellous judgment was shown in 1814 when it was decided to retain them. The Ministry of that date indeed deserve the admiration and gratitude of every British subject. If they showed culpable dilatoriness at more than one crucial period in the war; if they were not the help to Wellington that he deserved and had a right to expect; if they mismanaged the War Office, and chose many incompetent generals; still, at the Peace they showed the most remarkable prescience in retaining the very conquests which render the existence of the British Empire of to-day possible.

Great Britain was now as strong in naval power as the rest of Europe combined, and the Peninsular campaign had greatly increased the military prestige of the nation. Much credit is due to Castlereagh for the firm and tactful manner he now conducted his difficult mission. For the moment, however, all eyes were fixed on Wellington, who was the hero of Europe, while in England Parliament and people rivalled each other in showering honours on their

1791. great soldier. A dukedom was conferred upon him, with a present of half a million sterling, while his brother officers, Hill, Beresford, Cotton, Graham, and Hope, all received the coronets they had so nobly earned on the battlefield.

Unfortunately, in the meantime, Great Britain and the United States of America had become more and more estranged. The Orders in Council of 1807 were rigorously enforced, and many American sailors were impressed on the high seas to serve in the British navy.¹ Before, however, proceeding to recount the events which led to the most useless, unnecessary, and fruitless war in modern history, it is advisable to recall to mind the condition of Canada at this time. As a self-governing colony, its history commences with the concession of representative institutions to the old provinces of British America. By 1792 there were provincial governments established in Upper and Lower Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island. The population did not exceed 250,000, of whom 140,000 were descendants of the French, and lived on the banks of the St. Lawrence. Upper Canada consisted of about 25,000 English, for beyond the Detroit River, the limit of the settlement, the vast regions were only occupied by Indians and trappers. The Quebec Act of 1791² arranged for an Assembly to be elected by the people on a limited franchise, and a Legislative Council to be appointed by the Crown, and although the Imperial Government reserved the right of levying and collecting customs duties, the spending of all moneys raised in this manner was controlled by the legislature.³ Lord Dorchester was the first Governor-General of all the provinces, but all possessed separate executives over which Lieutenant-Generals presided, who,

¹ Lord Castlereagh admitted that 3300 American subjects were employed in the British navy, but "when the papers of the State Department at Washington were searched it was found that the friends of the enormous number of 6257 different American citizens impressed into the British service had filed protests there." "The History of our Navy," by John R. Spears, vol. ii. p. 4.

² This is important, as being the first colonial Constitution granted, not by a Royal Charter, but by Act of Parliament.

³ The Crown held absolute control over the revenues from Crown lands, and could thus, if necessary, carry on the Government without resort to the Assembly.

however, were only subordinate to the Governor when he was visiting a province in his official capacity. On December 17, 1792, the two Houses assembled in the Bishop's Palace at Quebec, when it was found that the legislature well represented the leading families of French Canadians, and M. Panet was unanimously elected Speaker. At the same time Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe opened the first legislature of Upper Canada in the village of Newark. 1792 to
1812.

On the opposite bank of the river was the territory of the Republic, and in the distance could be heard the roar of the Niagara Falls. Seven legislative councillors and sixteen members represented the 25,000 people who were scattered over a vast extent of territory, and seldom met, for the means of communication were practically limited to sailing boats and canoes.

During the next twenty years, Simcoe, who was a skilful administrator and had distinguished himself as a commander during the war for independence, worked hard to develop the country, and with no mean measure of success. Toronto, renamed York, was chosen on the recommendation of Lord Dorchester as the capital instead of Newark. Soon a considerable immigration took place from the United States, and many enterprising colonists from other countries settled in the district. An Irishman, Colonel Thomas Talbot, a member of the Lieutenant-Governor's staff, founded an important settlement in the west, and a Scotch priest named Macdonnell attracted many Highlanders to a part of the country named by them Glengarry. In Nova Scotia a number of Scotch had settled as early as 1773, and Prince Edward's Island was also peopled for the most part by the same race.

In England little interest was taken in the Colonies. The Imperial Parliament seems to have learnt no lesson from the loss of the United States, and neglected to study the wishes and further the interests of the people. There was thus constant friction between the popular assemblies and the executives, and apparently it was forgotten that when the British emigrate they take with them a keen desire for the same justice and freedom that they possess at home. A demand was soon made for full control over the taxes and

1812. revenues, while the presence of judges in the legislatures
 June. caused much discontent. Bitterness of feeling was also aroused by the casual manner in which the small British oligarchy treated the French Canadians, and took to themselves all the chief functions of Government. The official class indeed wished to limit the people to such powers as are now given to our large municipal institutions, and the members of the Assembly, on the other hand, endeavoured to exert an authority it was never intended they should possess. Among other follies they attempted to suppress the Press, and arrested the editor of the *Quebec Mercury* for venturing to criticise their proceedings. A newspaper, *Le Canadien*, was now founded as an organ of the French Canadians with the motto, "Nos institutions, nos langue, et nos lois." This organ constantly attacked the English governing class until the printer was arrested, as well as M. Bedard and other members of the Assembly who had contributed to its pages. Such a high-handed action was rightly disapproved by the Imperial Government, and soon afterwards the Governor-General returned to England.

In Upper Canada there was no racial feeling, but many of the immigrants from the United States chafed under the rule of the Crown, and wished for freer institutions. Here, too, the editor of the *Upper Canada Guardian*, Joseph Willcocks, was arrested by order of the majority of the Assembly, and gained some notoriety as a martyr. In the maritime provinces there was little trouble, although the official class governed in a very autocratic and peremptory manner.

This was the condition of Canada when in June 1812 the American Congress declared that the United States were at war with Great Britain. Many had laboured to preserve peace, and the chief grievance of the Americans, the Orders in Council, had been withdrawn on the motion of Brougham. This concession, unfortunately, was too late, and, in the face of the American threats, was attributed to the weakness of the Government. It is possible that if a conciliatory attitude had been assumed earlier, hostilities might have been averted, for the Northern States objected to the war. Still, the Southern States had a majority in the Congress, and were

losing heavily by the restricted export of their tobacco and sugar. It seemed, indeed, a favourable opportunity; England was deeply engaged in the Peninsular, and appeared to take little interest in the fate of Canada, where the people were certainly discontented. Nothing in their behaviour could, however, be construed into a sign that they desired to throw off the Imperial connection, or wished to become citizens of the United States. Indeed, as the French Canadians were strongly opposed to the Republic, all minor differences were at once put aside, and all classes united in the determination to resist the common enemy. The campaign was opened on the Canadian border in July by General Hall, who crossed the river above Detroit and marched to Sandwich in Upper Canada. Here he issued a proclamation threatening a war of extermination if savages, whom he appeared particularly to dread, were employed in the contest. Soon after, Fort Michilimachinack was captured by the English, Canadians, and natives. Hall next proceeded against Fort Malden, but was driven back as he attempted to cross the river Canard. These failures so depressed the Americans that they retired to their own fort of Detroit. The British now assumed the offensive, and a force under General Brock attacked the place and forced the occupants to surrender. This came as an unpleasant surprise, for the Government of the United States felt certain that the conquest of Canada would be a simple affair, and President Madison was so confident that he refused to continue an armistice which had been temporarily agreed upon between General Prevost and General Dearlow, the Commander-in-Chief of the American forces. Equally surprising to the English was the skill shown by the Americans at sea. The English frigate *Guerriere* was totally disabled and forced to surrender to the American frigate *Constitution*, a ship irresistibly superior in guns and numbers to her antagonist; and later in the year the frigate *Macedonian* was destroyed by the *United States*, a ship of about double the power. Energetic measures were plainly necessary, and at the end of 1812 the ports and harbours of Chesapeake and Delaware were blockaded. Although America and France were both now at war with England, there was no attempt by either to approach the other. Indeed, Madison clearly

1812.•

1813. stated that the United States would have no connection with the principle or power of France, and that if French troops came there they would be regarded as enemies.¹ In October another attempt was made on Canada, when General Brock was killed on the field, but Major-General Sheaffe, who succeeded, beat off the attack of General Wadsworth and captured his force. During the winter more incursions were made into Canadian territory, and the Americans captured York.

Early in May 1813 the Czar of Russia made an offer to President Madison to mediate between Great Britain and the United States. The President was prepared to accept it, but the British Government were nettled because the Czar had offered his services without consulting them first.² Under any circumstances, it is doubtful if a satisfactory peace could have been arranged, for England resolutely refused to permit any interference with her existing maritime rights. Many conflicts followed, chiefly on the coasts and the lakes, with little or no decided result. Still, the American army was so much larger than the British that both Fort Erie and Fort George were captured by General Dearlow, and the whole Niagara frontier between was occupied by his troops. On Lake Erie the English fleet was defeated by Perry, which gave the control of Michigan to the Americans, and Procter also was defeated by Harrison; but these losses were to a certain extent compensated by the repulse of General Hampton by a small force of Canadians. In 1814 the campaign commenced by an irruption of a large force of American troops into Lower Canada under General Wilkinson. They were, however, driven back by Colonel Hancock.

Little of importance occurred until July 25th, when was fought the famous battle of Lundy's Lane. Here English

¹ *Annual Register*, 1812, p. 201.

² Castlereagh to Cathcart, July 5, 1813: "With regard to America, the tender of mediation by Russia cannot be listened to on a question of maritime right." It is to be lamented that the formal offer was made to America before the disposition of the British Government was previously sounded as to its acceptance of a mediation. "This subject we cannot think of discussing in a general Congress." F. O. Records, Russia, 83. The English Government, however, agreed to open negotiations with the United States direct.

regulars and Canadian militia fought side by side for six hours against a powerful force of Americans and completely 1814.
decimated them. The British Government, freed from the anxieties of the campaign in Europe, now determined to put an end to the American endeavours, and even offered the command of the army to Wellington.

This he refused, but a large number of his veteran troops were embarked at Bordeaux direct for America, and the warfare was renewed with increased energy. A fleet under Admiral Cockburn and an army under General Ross were sent to the Chesapeake, and an attack was made on Washington which was completely successful. It is to be regretted that the public property of the city was destroyed, but it argues well for the discipline of the troops that private buildings were scrupulously spared. Other expeditions were not so successful, and both sides were undoubtedly pleased when the negotiations which had been carried on at Ghent were followed by peace in December; but the great point of maritime right was left unsettled, and the boundary questions were postponed until a future date. Unfortunately before the news of the Convention could reach America more blood was shed. Sir Edmund Pakenham with an ill-equipped force attempted the siege of New Orleans, which was ably defended by General Jackson. After Pakenham and two other generals had been killed the force was withdrawn, and thus ended a war which ought never to have taken place, and was barren of results.

CHAPTER XXX

Wellington sent to Paris as ambassador—The Congress of Vienna—Policy of Talleyrand—The objects of the Powers—Methods of discussion—The questions of Poland and Saxony—Treaty of defensive alliance between England, Austria, and France—The Czar hears of the treaty—Castlereagh returns home—Napoleon at Elba—Returns to France—Policy of the English Government concerning the Bourbons—Napoleon in Paris—Preparations for war—Battles of Quatre Bras and Ligny—Successful strategy of Napoleon—The Anglo-Dutch army retire to Mont-sain-Jean—Number and disposition of the troops at Waterloo—Description of the ground—The battle opens—Fate of Grouchy—French attack on the allied centre—Charge of the Imperial Guard repulsed—The whole French army routed—Flight of Napoleon.

1814. EUROPE was exhausted and gladly sought repose. For the moment the roar of arms was hushed, and statesmen fenced with honeyed words instead. In the council chambers, not in the field, the courts of Europe now wrestled. Nevertheless Wellington was wisely chosen to represent England at Paris, and took advantage of his journey to pay a visit to the Netherlands, where, along the frontier, great preparations were being made for defence. These he examined with great attention, for it was essential to the peace of Europe that a mighty bar should be made from Liege along the Meuse and Sambre to Namur, Charleroi, and Tournay. At the end of August he arrived in Paris, well equipped with the views of the British Government. He was instructed to urge the French to join England in her effort to suppress the abominable traffic in slaves, and with that object in view to persuade the Court of Paris to agree to a right of search of all merchant ships by the cruisers of the two Powers.¹ Then to discover what France and Spain intended to do with Murat, and whether the French Government had "opened itself" at all to Prussia on the subject of Poland or on the views of Russia in the north of Europe. Next to point out that it was equally important to Holland, Hanover, and

¹ August 6, 1814. Instructions to the Duke of Wellington. F. O. Records, France, 99.

Prussia that the Norwegian question should not be used as a pretext by Russia for dismembering Denmark; and, finally, to sound Talleyrand about the commercial relations between France and England, for British manufactures were largely excluded, and the trade between the countries limited to a small amount of colonial produce.¹

1814.
August.

So anxious were the British Government to abolish the slave trade that Wellington was authorised to advance £3,000,000 to compensate the French planters in the West Indies, or even to cede the island of Trinidad if the horrible business were at once stopped. His efforts were however of no avail, for although the King was "willing to do anything to gratify the Prince Regent," he was afraid that public opinion in France was not unanimous about the slave trade, and that both the legislative bodies, especially the House of Peers, were opposed to abolition.²

On another point the British Ambassador was more successful. He stated that while his Government hoped that the best understanding should exist between France and Spain, it would object to any hostile alliance of the nature of the Family Compact, which would necessarily connect the two countries in the case of war. To this the French Government replied that they had no wish for a Family Compact, and would not agree to it.³

King Louis soon discovered that his throne was not a bed of roses. At Court intrigues were set on foot, and much discontent existed in Paris among the military and civil officials who were suddenly deprived of their occupation by the new arrangements. The English were much abused in the daily Press for no apparent reason, unless it was because the French journalists disapproved of the war in America. There seems also to have been such a strong feeling against Wellington that he was threatened with assassination. This was perhaps due to his success against the French armies, and to the great sway he was known to possess in the councils of the King. Lord Liverpool indeed became so alarmed for his safety that he wished him to leave Paris and

¹ August 7, 1814. Castlereagh to Wellington. F. O. Records, France, 99.

² August 27, 1814. Wellington to Castlereagh. F. O. Records, France, 100.

³ Wellington to Castlereagh, September 8. Ibid.

1814.
Septem-
ber.

proceed to America as commander-in-chief of the armies there; but Wellington considered he could do more useful work in France, and was of course indifferent to threats.

At the end of September the Congress assembled at Vienna. The Czar of Russia and the Kings of Prussia, Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and Denmark were present, with the Emperor Francis, and Metternich, who presided at the meetings. England was represented by Castlereagh, and France by Talleyrand. Rasumoffsky acted as chief Russian Minister, and Hardenberg was in the same capacity for Prussia. Stein was also present, but without office. Castlereagh in the course of his journey visited Belgium and Holland, and found them quite content with their governments. He agreed with Wellington that the fortifications of Antwerp should be preserved for military reasons, and continued: "The benefits of the separation of the Scheldt from France are incalculable to Great Britain, and there is no reasonable expense to which the British Government should hesitate to go which can confirm that position to a secondary and friendly Power." In Paris he had an interview with the King and Talleyrand, and found that they knew the Czar wished to give Poland a constitution under Russian suzerainty, and intended to join England in opposing such a scheme.¹

The Congress at first decided that the four great Powers should arrange the map of Europe without Talleyrand, and afterwards submit their decisions to him and the smaller countries, but that astute diplomatist soon showed that such a plan would really place France in the position of arbiter should any serious dispute arise about Poland. That this was to be the dangerous subject was at once apparent. On October 2nd, Castlereagh had a long interview with Alexander, who proposed to assign to Prussia a small portion of the Duchy of Warsaw to the westward of Kalisch, and to erect the remainder, together with the Polish provinces, into a kingdom under the dominion of Russia. Castlereagh replied that Great Britain wished to restore independence to the Poles as a nation, but that it distinguished between such

¹ Castlereagh to Liverpool, Geneva, September 2, 1814. F. O. Records, Continent, 6.

an arrangement and the formation of a part of Poland into a kingdom which would be merged into the Crown of Russia. Alexander then frankly acknowledged that he was not prepared to sacrifice his claims on the country.¹ Next day when Count Nesselrode called to see the effect of the interview, Castlereagh told him he thought it "dangerous and degrading to Austria and Prussia to deny them the semblance of a military frontier."² He expected that those Powers would not resist Russia, however, and would be content to seek their own aggrandisement in other directions. The family of Monarchs and Ministers were indeed by no means united now that their common enemy was crushed. Nevertheless in the intervals of debate and intrigue they met at the fêtes, balls, concerts, and other amusements arranged on a lavish scale by Metternich. Beethoven, who at first felt such great admiration for Napoleon that he dedicated the Heroic Symphony to him, was among the entertainers, and now soothed his conquerors with beautiful melody. Prussia sought the support of Russia in its designs on Saxony, and France had pretensions in Italy, while Austria was jealous of both, and was suspicious of Russia in Poland. "Hardenberg explained that if Saxony was assured to him by Austria and England he would then unite with Austria to oppose such resistance as prudence might justify to Russian encroachments." Castlereagh thought that Metternich had no fixed plan, but wished to work with Prussia; while Talleyrand indiscriminately opposed the Russian pretensions in Poland, the Austrian in Italy, and the Prussian in Saxony.³

Alexander exerted a great sway in the councils, and for the first month nothing was done to check his designs, the other Powers in the meantime being chiefly occupied in suspecting each other. England was, however, resolute, and in Paris the Russian proposals were strongly disapproved. It was considered there that Alexander thought King Louis could offer no resistance owing to the quantity of cannon captured from France by the allies. De Blacas therefore told Wellington that it would be easy to add 100,000 men to

1814.
October.

¹ From Castlereagh, October 2, 1814. F. O. Records, Vienna. Continent, 6.

² Ibid., October 4, 1814. Ibid.

³ Ibid., October 8, 1814. Ibid.

1814.
October.

the army, which in his opinion "would be a remedy for all the difficulties at Vienna." The British Ambassador at once stated that such a proceeding would alarm the allies, who ought to be united in opposing the Czar's views in Poland.¹ The business of the Congress was carried on by twenty individuals representing the States in the following proportions: Austria, 2; France, 4; Great Britain, 4; Portugal, 3; Prussia, 2; Russia, 3; Spain, 1; and Sweden, 1; and the whole occasionally met together as a directing body. In the intervals the several subjects were dealt with in Committees, Poland being left to Russia, Austria, and Prussia, while Great Britain umpired.

The confederation of Germany, following the arrangement laid down in the Treaty of Paris, was dealt with by the envoys of Austria, Prussia, Bavaria, Hanover, and Wurtemberg, while the four great Powers settled the affairs of Switzerland. Italian business occupied another small Committee. From the tangled skein of hopes and fears we can separate these: Russia wished for Poland, and was willing to hand over Saxony to Prussia; and Austria, England and France were all unwilling that Cracow should fall into the hands of the Czar. Prussia now proposed that Russia should receive Thorn and the line of the Wartha, and that Austria should receive in addition to the circle of Zamose, Cracovia, and the Nidda as a frontier. A Russian counter-project was handed in by Czartoryski and Stein, which offered to neutralise the towns of Thorn and Cracow only, for the Czar steadily refused to yield the circle of Zamose or territory between the Kalisch and the Wartha. Austria was now very dissatisfied, but Prussia seemed inclined to uphold Russia.² The reason was soon apparent. It was a case of you help me to rob my neighbour's orchard and I will help you. Prussia next appealed to Castlereagh to support her designs on Saxony, and when he refused to do so Hardenberg wrote to him as follows: "Should Prussia continue to consider the annexation of the whole of Saxony necessary to her reconstruction, she could not in point of expense submit to remain

¹ Wellington to Castlereagh, Paris, October 25, 1814. F. O. Records, France, 100.

² From Castlereagh, Vienna, December 6, 1814. F. O. Records, Continent, 6.

in a state of provisional occupation, and Russia and Prussia would in such a case consider a refusal to acknowledge as tantamount to a Declaration of War." Castlereagh answered that if such a temper prevailed they were not arguing in a state of independence, and had better break up the Congress. He then arranged with France and Austria a treaty of defensive alliance within "the strict necessity of this most extraordinary case."¹

1814.
Decem-
ber.

The three Powers agreed to declare war against Russia and Prussia if they attempted to violate the principles of the Treaty of Paris. Hanover, Bavaria, and the Porte were also to join the alliance if a campaign became necessary. Every one was now seriously disturbed except Talleyrand, who had foreseen the course events would take, and had already obtained permission from King Louis to make an offer of armed assistance to Austria in case of need. With this object in view, the French Government had decided to increase the army enormously, but allowed Wellington to think that they were disturbed by the state of affairs in Italy, where Murat was collecting an army. Officers were also gathering together in Lombardy, and were supposed to be "working in all directions to create an insurrection and to aid the views of Murat or of any other adventurer who will take them into his service."² King Louis pretended to be greatly concerned at this, and dissatisfied because the Sovereigns and Ministers at Vienna did not at once remove Murat from the throne.³

It is curious that Wellington did not discover that the real object of increasing the French army was to check the Russian and Prussian designs on Poland and Saxony, for all the allies being satisfied of Murat's treachery, were determined to force him to abdicate. Talleyrand had, indeed, so far played the favourite game of his late master with consummate skill. He had split the allies into two camps, and was now prepared to step in as the arbiter of the destinies of Europe. He had won his position adroitly, and as cleverly he utilised it, for from the moment France was admitted into

¹ From Castlereagh, Vienna, January 1, 1815. F. O. Records, Continent, 6.

² Wellington to Castlereagh, Paris, November 23, 1814. F. O. Records, France, 100.

³ Ibid., December 25, 1814. Ibid.

1815.
February.

the Councils of the four Powers the pretensions of both Russia and Prussia became greatly modified.

Alexander immediately heard of the treaty of defensive alliance, and his Ministers did not disavow the statement of Hardenberg. At first he was extremely annoyed with Castlereagh, whose prompt action had undoubtedly checkmated him; but when the English Minister explained that the Powers were seriously and, as he thought, justly alarmed, he was more inclined to come to terms.¹ Eventually it was arranged that Russia should have the best part of Warsaw, that Cracow should become an independent Republic, that Prussia should receive part of Saxony and the fortresses of Dantzic and Thorn on the Vistula, and that the King of Saxony should be permitted to retain Dresden and about half of his former territory. The next step concerned Holland, and, as all were agreed, a powerful state of five millions of people was soon formed.² The darkest and thickest part of the wood of settlement was now cleared, and Castlereagh felt free to return home and resume his ministerial duties, more especially as he left the remainder of the way to be discovered by such an able pioneer as Wellington. It was not likely that the formation of a federal constitution for Germany would prove a very thorny task, and the high-road to a settlement of Naples was clearly apparent.

The sky at length seemed blue, and the rents and tears of the twenty-year storm repaired, when suddenly came the news that another tornado might be expected. Napoleon had left Elba. The fact was plain enough. Why had he so acted? To understand that, we must retrace our steps and follow the career of the exile during his stay in his island Empire. There is much evidence to show that he always

¹ From Castlereagh, January 8, 1815: "The Emperor of Russia referred to reports about our defensive alliance, and I stated that Hardenberg's statement, which was not disavowed by the Russian Minister, had seriously, and I thought justly, alarmed the Powers. His Imperial Majesty then softened it down. I showed him how Prussia could be reconstructed without incorporating the whole of Saxony. He seemed desirous of an accommodation." *F. O. Records, Continent*, 6.

² The territorial arrangements for Poland, Prussia, Saxony, Holland, and Hanover were now reduced into articles and signed by the five Powers. February 13, 1815. *F. O. Records, Continent*, 6.

intended to attempt to recover his throne, for when he reproached himself for the ruin he had brought upon his country, and Bausset attempted to calm him by remarking that France would still form the finest of realms, he replied with remarkable serenity, "I abdicate and I yield nothing."¹ Again, when he embarked on H.M.S. *Undaunted*, on April 28, 1814, he stated to Colonel Neil Campbell that the whole of the French were favourable to him except the people near the coast, who wanted peace at any price in order to carry on their trade. He added that he had the greatest contempt for Louis, and stated: "Les Bourbons sont pauvres Diabes comme des Grands Seigneurs contents de retourner à leur terres, de recevoir leur biens—mais si le peuple de France apperçoivent cela et deviendront mécontents les Bourbons seront chassés en six mois." Here he checked himself and seemed to feel his indiscretion.² Nevertheless, during his stay in the island he frequently gave vent to similar opinions, and constantly stated that France would never be content without the frontier of the Rhine. While busying himself improving his estate, he kept a watchful eye on the Continent. He knew that the Italians were dissatisfied because the Treaty of Paris parcelled out the country into independent states, and that Murat would soon have to fight for his throne. It is curious that, although the allies realised the danger of Napoleon's presence so near both France and Italy, they did not remove him to a greater distance, and that the British Government considered it sufficient to sentinel the island by a single small armed vessel, the *Partridge*. At first somewhat despondent, towards the end of the year the Emperor became more cheerful, particularly after he had made some visits to two uninhabited rocks close at hand. These excursions, indeed, aroused the suspicions of Neil Campbell and Ricci, the Vice-Consul, who thought they were made with the object of communicating with the coast. General Bertrand, however, pooch-pooched the idea.³ About the second week in February 1815, Napoleon heard of the

1814.
May.

¹ "Life of Napoleon I.," Holland Rose, vol. xi. p. 433.

² From Colonel Neil Campbell to Castlereagh, May 3, 1814. F. O. Records, France, 114.

³ The islands were Monte Cristo and Pianosa. F. O. Records, France, 114.

1815.
February.

unrest in Italy, of the discord among the Powers, and also of a plot to overthrow Louis XVIII. He therefore determined to make an attempt on France. Fortune favoured him, for on the 16th Neil Campbell went on board the *Partridge* and sailed for Tuscany to spend a few days there on business. Ricci soon after discovered that the Emperor intended to embark a military force with stores and provisions, and informed Campbell on the 26th; but it was too late, for on that very day Napoleon sailed from Porto Ferrajo at 9 P.M. on the *Inconstant*.¹ The bird had flown, and it was necessary to re-net him. Campbell expected that he would secrete himself at Caprara or Gorgona for a day or two and then attempt to capture Leghorn. Captain Adye was therefore ordered to Caprara, while the *Fleur de Lys*, the French guardship, sailed towards Antibes. Napoleon was playing for an empire, not for an island, and made direct for the mainland. He thus avoided both the *Fleur de Lys* and the English ship. On March 1st, at 11 A.M., a brig and several smaller vessels were observed from the island of Marguerite, west of Antibes. The brig fired two guns and hoisted the tricolor, and then the whole party from the ships disembarked on the beach. Small detachments commenced to seize horses and to issue proclamations, but, after bivouacking near the shore for the night, the whole force marched towards Grenoble, while the ships sailed away in a southerly direction.

The Congress was discussing Murat, and had decided to remove him and replace Ferdinand on the throne, when the news that Napoleon had escaped from Elba reached Vienna. It was obvious to all that action, and speedy action, must take the place of discussion. The Powers therefore made a Solemn Declaration that Napoleon Bonaparte had placed himself "outside the pale of civil and social relations," and pledged themselves to be ready "when called upon" to give the King of France and the French nation all the assistance necessary to restore public tranquillity. There was no doubt in 1815 what was the cause of war. In 1793 the execution of a king by his own subjects provoked the interference of foreign nations. In 1815 the attempt to usurp the throne from the legitimate occupier had a similar

¹ From Neil Campbell, Leghorn, February 26, 1815.

result. There was, however, this difference: in the first case the ostensible cause of hostilities was not the real one, for the Powers professed that they entered the war because France had violated the navigation laws of the Scheldt; in the second, they openly declared Napoleon an outlaw and pledged themselves to assist the King. He who has studied the history of the period will not be surprised at the change of attitude. Castlereagh felt as keenly as any one for the King, and realised the necessity of a strong united action against Napoleon; but he recognised that it was for the French people, not for foreign governments, to settle who should rule France. He therefore wrote to Wellington on March 14th, and before he could have heard of the declaration of the allies, that he was not to assume such a tone as to represent the support of the Bourbons as a foreign cause.¹ This was not only the correct attitude for a diplomat to assume, but it was also the wisest. Castlereagh may have remembered the unpleasant snub Grenville received when he ventured to lecture France on the choice of a king fifteen years before. Whether that was so or not, a great change had taken place in the meantime. Both George III. and Pitt were strong pro-Bourbons, whereas the Tory Government under the Regent was chiefly desirous of restraining the excesses of France under the Emperor and of restoring the balance of Europe. At the end of 1813 the Powers would not have dethroned Napoleon if he had accepted their terms, and it was not until two months later, during the Congress at Chatillon, that the English Government, having received from Wellington proof of the royalist reaction in the south of France, definitely decided to support

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March.

¹ From Castlereagh, March 14, 1815: "We must avoid at the outset too dictatorial a pledge, which might give Bonaparte's adherents in France as well as the Opposition here a handle to represent the support of the Bourbons as a foreign and not a French cause." And again on March 16: "Caution must be observed in issuing any declaration from Vienna until the character of the contest is more precisely established; for although interference on the part of the Great Powers of Europe would be both wise and necessary at the instance of the King and his Government if sustained by an adequate national support, yet, consistent with the principle on which the allies have already acted, it would be a very different question to march into France for the purpose of restoring a sovereign who had been betrayed and abandoned by his own troops and subjects." F. O. Records, Continent, 7.

1815.
March.

the allies in restoring the Bourbons. It cannot, therefore, be laid to the account of the British Government of 1815 that they wished to force any dynasty on France irrespective of the wishes of the French people. Indeed, the fact that the Quadruple Alliance was renewed in 1818 after the second Restoration shows that it was regarded as a mode of defence against France, and not against Napoleon.

For the moment, however, it mattered not what were the intentions of the Powers or the wishes of the French people, for Napoleon succeeded in rallying the army to his standard as he marched in triumph to Paris. Here he was received with acclamation by the people, who were already tired of the new system of taxation and the restriction on the liberty of the Press.¹ King Louis fled from the Tuileries, and the tricolor once more waved over the country. The allies therefore closed in their ranks, formally renewed the Treaty of Chaumont, and drew up plans for an invasion of France. Wellington and Blucher were to advance from the Netherlands, and the Czar and Schwarzenberg, at the head of the Russians and Austrians, from the Rhine. Napoleon made some overtures to the allies; then, recognising that peace was impossible, threw his whole strength into the contest. His energy was prodigious, his constructive power never exercised with such wonderful effect. In an instant the whole of France was a camp, an armoury, and a drill ground. All the half-pay grumbling officers found work in abundance waiting for them. Paris itself was defended with a ring of cannon, a new constitution known as the *Acte Additionnel* of 1815 was drawn up by Benjamin Constant under the supervision of the Emperor, and the Liberals were won over by an order convoking the Chambers. By the end of May the army numbered 312,000 men, of whom 200,000 were ready for battle.

Meanwhile Murat, suspecting that the allies would remove him from the throne of Naples, prepared for war, and, following the precedent of Napoleon, once more summoned the Italians to fight for what he was pleased

¹ It was well known in England that there was much discontent with the Restoration, but no one imagined that, in the words of the *Quarterly Review*, "it was intended to call in the desperate aid of Bonaparte."

to term their independence. The Italians, however, had a vivid recollection of the French meaning of the word, and did not readily respond to his overtures. At the same time he professed fidelity both to the allies and to Napoleon. Austria therefore declared war, and defeated him at Tolentino on May 22nd, and then joined by an English force took possession of Naples in the name of King Ferdinand. The double betrayer fled to France and offered his aid to Napoleon, who, knowing his true character, angrily refused to have any dealings with him. 1815.
May.

The Emperor now for the final time resorted to his old diplomatic trick. Finding the treaty of alliance of England, France, and Austria against Russia and Prussia of January 3rd among the State papers in Paris, he sent it off to Alexander with the hope that it would detach him from Austria. A story has since been spread abroad that the Czar sent for Metternich and magnanimously burnt the document before his eyes, saying: "Metternich, so long as we live no word must pass between us again on this affair. We have other things to do now."¹

There is also an account, quoted from the De Ros MS., in the words of Wellington to the end that a Monsieur Renard of the French Foreign Office was captured by the Prussians and searched, when this secret treaty was discovered.² As we have shown above, Alexander knew of the existence of this treaty a day or two after it was signed. Obviously, neither Stein nor Wellington, was aware of this fact, and of course Napoleon knew nothing about it.³ The practical effect of the communication upon Alexander in reality could have been nothing unless it appealed to his sense of humour.

The allies now knew the value of promptitude in warfare, and Napoleon had never required to learn it. He determined to strike at once and crush the Anglo-Prussian force in

¹ "Life of Stein," J. R. Seely, vol. iii. p. 328.

² "Life of Wellington," Sir Herbert Maxwell, vol. i. p. 403. See also "Life of Napoleon," Holland Rose, vol. xi. p. 448.

³ See *ante*, p. 180. This story is interesting, because it shows that even the chief actors in the political arena may be unaware of most important events. It also proves that it is impossible to write true history from biographies or memoirs without careful comparison with the official records.

1815.
June. Flanders before his other enemies were prepared. For this purpose he detailed an army of 124,000 men with 344 guns under Soult, Grouchy, Drouet, D'Erlon, Reille, Vandamme, Gerard, and the Comte de Lobau.¹ It was possible to move the army along either of the roads of Charleroi, Tournay, or Mons, and Wellington, thinking he would choose the last, placed his best troops on his right. Blucher, with 120,000 men and 312 guns, was on the extreme left near Namur, while Wellington, with an Anglo-Dutch force of 100,000 men and 196 guns, was on the right, reaching to Audenarde, the whole line of the allies extending thus for nearly a hundred miles.

Whatever might be the route chosen, it was clear that the objective was Brussels. Napoleon left Paris on June 12th and reached Beaumont on the 14th, and it then seemed certain that he intended to take the Charleroi road. Within easy reach was the whole of his army—Gerard with the right wing was at Philippeville, D'Erlon and Reille with the left at Sobre-sur-Sambre, while Napoleon and the Imperial Guard formed the centre at Beaumont.² Next day he advanced across the Sambre and captured Charleroi, where he was joined by Ney, to whom he entrusted the command of the 1st and 2nd Army Corps.

Authorities differ as to the intention of the Emperor. Some think he proposed to follow the Austerlitz tactics and drive a wedge in between the two allied armies, while others opine that he intended to double up the Prussian left before the allies could concentrate. The conduct of previous campaigns of Napoleon, as well as his general diplomacy and character, incline us to the belief that he intended to strike at the centre, and to modify his tactics at the moment as occasion required.³ Whatever Napoleon intended, Wellington had no choice in the disposition of his troops, for it was

¹ "Correspondence" of Napoleon, xxxi. 159. The military forces under Bonaparte were estimated by the Duke of Feltre at 182,000 men with 500 guns. "Wellington Supplementary Despatches," x. 449.

² Order of the day of the French army. *Ibid.*, 465.

³ Wellington said "he had no preconceived idea of a campaign," and always maintained that he ought not to have endeavoured to cut in between the Prussians and English, but to have advanced along the direct road by Mons. See *Life by Sir Herbert Maxwell*, ii. 5.

essential to protect the roads from Ostend, and to maintain his connection with the sea, although by so doing he dangerously extended his line. On the 15th the divisions and brigades of the Anglo-Dutch concentrated round about Ath, Hal, and Nivelles until midnight, when news was brought that the French had crossed the Sambre and captured Charleroi. This caused Wellington to order his advance chiefly towards Nivelles. That evening occurred in Brussels the ball of the Duchess of Richmond, famous in history because Wellington and his staff attended. It affords to the romantic a pathetic picture of many young soldiers suddenly turning from the giddy vapourings of the ball-room to the stern realities of life and death on the field of battle, and it proves to the military strategist that the allies were unprepared for the rapid movements of their foe. The line was not in position. The divisions under Blucher were scattered between Charleroi and Namur, and, owing to a mistake, the force commanded by Bulow was still at Liege. It was a great opportunity to drive in a wedge between the armies of the allies. Napoleon missed it partly because an officer, who was directed to order Vandamme to march, met with an accident, and partly because General Bourmont, who was in Gerard's corps, deserted with several officers to the Prussians. Still, Charleroi was captured, the allies falling back on Gilly, and the left wing under Ney advanced towards Quatre Bras. Early on the 16th Wellington sent orders to General Lord Hill and Major-General Sir J. Lambert to betake themselves on the 17th to Nivelles and Quatre Bras, and leaving Brussels at dawn, rode hastily to the latter place. On his way he passed Picton, who was at Waterloo, and remained there till midday. It thus happened that at 10 A.M. the Prince of Orange had a division at Quatre Bras and one at Nivelles; the corps of Lord Hill was at Braine-le-Comte; while the Prussians were assembling on the field of Saint Amand and Ligny eight miles away. The Duke now satisfied himself that an attack was meditated on the latter, and ordered all his forces to concentrate at Quatre Bras on the Prussian right, but promised to support Blucher if he were not attacked himself.¹

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June.

¹ "Life of Wellington," Maxwell, ii. 20.

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The morning passed in inaction and suspense. Ney might have advanced and captured Quatre Bras at any moment, for it was defended only by a weak force.¹ He made the great error of doing nothing, and thus gave the allies time to bring up more troops. After reassuring himself that an attack was meditated on the Prussians, Wellington rode over to Blücher and advised him to withdraw his troops from the very exposed position they then occupied, which subjected them at any moment to a heavy cannonade. Then about 2.30 P.M. he returned to his own army just before the French force under Ney issued from the wood of Bossu. Napoleon's plan was a simple one. Ney was to defeat the Prince of Orange at Quatre Bras, and then, wheeling to the right, to outflank the Prussians. Grouchy in the meantime was to give battle to the Prussians at Ligny and scatter them to the winds, while the Emperor himself remained with the Imperial Guard between them ready to support either if they required it. Afterwards the whole army was to meet at Brussels at 7 A.M.²

The situation was a critical one. Wellington had only 7000 infantry and 16 guns at the commencement of the action against double that number of French. The deep rye at first concealed his weakness from Ney, whose superior numbers, however, soon began to tell. The issue seemed doubtful, when Picton opportunely arrived from Waterloo with 7000 men, and the Brunswick corps equally strong marched in from Nivelles. This with the Nassau contingent brought up the strength of the allies to nearly 30,000 men. Still the cavalry was too weak to be of much service, and the infantry were forced to remain on the defensive. Formed in squares, they suffered severely from the storm of shot and shell directed in their midst in the intervals between the cavalry charges. Like pyramids they resisted the onslaught of horse, but like pyramids they presented a fixed target for the guns. Kellermann, with dauntless dash, led his squadron time

¹ Napoleon blamed Ney severely for his inaction, and the Marshal excused himself, stating that he thought the whole army of Wellington was still at Quatre Bras. "Correspondence," xxxi. 177.

² Napoleon to Ney. "Correspondence," xxviii. 289. See also *Campagne de 1815*. Ibid., xxxi. 176.

after time right up to the fences of bristling steel, only to be repulsed. Once indeed he gained an advantage over the 69th Regiment, which was ordered by mistake to deploy instead of to form square at the critical moment. The line of horsemen rode over them inflicting severe loss, then swerving to avoid the squares in their path, almost reached the very centre of the British line. They had ventured too far. Suddenly a withering flanking fire was poured into their midst at thirty paces by the Gordon Highlanders. A third fell, and the remainder, turning their horses' heads, galloped off in a disordered throng.

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Meanwhile Napoleon, intent solely on the success of his main scheme, had sent an order to D'Erlon, who was advancing to help Ney on the right, directing him to march on a line with Saint Amand towards Ligny. Another messenger was sent to command Ney to support Grouchy by attacking the right flank of the Prussians. A chapter of accidents followed. D'Erlon obeyed, and sent the chief of his staff Delcambre to inform Ney that he had changed the direction of his advance. All this time Ney imagined he was supported on his right, and it was not until Delcambre arrived at 5 P.M. that he discovered his error. A few minutes later Laurent rode in with the message from Napoleon to Ney which had been despatched two hours earlier. The attack on Quatre Bras was at its height; it was imperative that Reille, who was conducting it, should be supported. Ney therefore sent an urgent order to D'Erlon to return. Before it reached him it was 6 P.M., and he was within sight of the Prussians. Still he disregarded the Emperor's orders and obeyed those of his immediate superior. The 1st Army Corps was thus occupied the whole day in marching and counter-marching. In spite of this Ney kept up the hopeless contest until nearly nine o'clock, when he retired, less 4300 men. The allies also suffered severely, for the Duke of Brunswick was killed at the head of his corps, and 3500 men were reft of further glory.

While this battle was raging a fierce onslaught was made against the Prussians at Ligny. Here also Napoleon had miscalculated; he thought only one Army Corps was opposed to him, and that Ney would soon appear on the right flank

1815. after shattering the Anglo-Dutch force. Instead, the delay
June. in the morning had enabled Blücher to bring up a force superior in numbers to his own which held the villages of Ligny and Saint Amand, and extended on the left to the ridge of Tongrines. Straight at the centre Napoleon hurled his force, under cover of a terrific cannonade on the villages. It was impossible to dislodge the Prussians, and the Emperor had just ordered the Imperial Guards to advance to Ligny when a strange force appeared on the left. Napoleon, greatly perplexed, checked the advance for nearly two hours, when he discovered the supposed English army was the force of D'Erlon, who was now retracing his steps towards Quatre Bras.¹ It has since transpired that Napoleon had intended to order D'Erlon to advance against the Prussian rear, but in his despatch had used the expression "*à la hauteur de Saint Amand*" instead of "*sur la hauteur*," and D'Erlon literally obeying it, thus unexpectedly appeared at the wrong place.² In spite of this explanation it is difficult to understand how Napoleon can have believed the force to be English. The Guards now continued their movement towards Ligny; Blücher, by strengthening his right, which was furiously engaged with Vandamme, had weakened his centre and caused his left wing, which still held Grouchy's cavalry in check, to become dangerously isolated. Now was the critical moment accentuated by a violent thunderstorm which, spreading like a fire-girt mantle, hid the movement of the Imperial Guard stealthily advancing to the head of the Prussian line. Thielman on the left was fully engaged with Grouchy, the attention of the right was held by Gerard, when the Guard aided by Milhaud's Cuirassiers sprang upon and pierced the centre. Blücher was attempting to rally his men when his charger was shot and he was thrown violently to the ground. For the moment it appeared as though he must be captured, but his adjutant Nostitz hid him in the twilight as the victorious cavalry swept past. The centre was thus forced to retreat, protected by the cavalry, as Napoleon rode back to Fleurus, leaving 14,000 Prussians and 11,000 French dead or wounded

¹ The village of Ligny was captured and recaptured four times. See *Campagne de 1815*, Napoleon "Correspondence," xxxi. 172.

² "Life of Wellington," Maxwell, ii. 22. Quoted from M. Houssaye.

on that terrible battlefield. Much blood had been shed for a very small result. 1815.
June.

The Anglo-Dutch were still at Quatre Bras, the Prussians were retreating but not conquered, and neither Napoleon nor any of his army was destined to reach Brussels next morning. Still the generalship exhibited by the Emperor during these days was faultless. He had timed the arrival of nine Army Corps to coincide with that of the Imperial Guards from Paris; he had concealed from Wellington the route he proposed to take, he had fallen on the allies in their weakest spot, and prevented their junction, and now he had driven the Prussians back. Indeed, if Ney had been successful at Quatre Bras, it is possible the whole of his scheme would have been carried out. From this time, however, he seems to have lost his power of clear reasoning and allowed an optimistic belief in his own judgment to replace cautious and careful inquiry. Without any reason he concluded that the Prussians would retire to the Rhine, and ordered Grouchy to follow on a wrong scent. It was not until 8 A.M. on the 17th that he heard Ney had failed to capture Quatre Bras, when it was also reported to him that Blucher was heading for Namur. In spite of this information he waited until 11.30 A.M. before he wrote to Grouchy directing him to proceed to Gembloux with the corps of Gerard and Vandamme in order to discover if Blucher intended to join Wellington, and, if so, to prevent the meeting. Meanwhile Gneisenau, on whom the command devolved after the accident to Blucher, had rapidly led the bulk of the Prussian army to Wavre, where Bulow's corps had also assembled.

Whether it be true or not that Wellington was not well informed of the French movements before Quatre Bras, he was not caught napping this time, and immediately after the action sent to discover the fate of Blucher. Hearing that he had retired north, he realised that it was necessary for the Anglo-Dutch army to do so also; and while Napoleon was leisurely giving Grouchy instructions, and Ney was impatiently waiting for orders, on the morning of the 17th the whole force quietly retired from Quatre Bras and proceeded to Genappe, leaving a few cavalry to mask their intention. The ruse only succeeded

1815. until Napoleon and Ney discovered the truth, and began
June. a furious pursuit along the road to Brussels. Soon after midday a heavy rainstorm obscured the rival forces, stumbling along over the sodden ground. The French, literally led by their Emperor, were, however, gaining ground on the rear-guard, and it was necessary to make a stand. Lord Uxbridge therefore unlimbered, and opened fire on Napoleon himself and his staff, the service being returned by a battery of the Guard. The game of ball grew wearisome, and the enemy still advanced. Cold steel was therefore substituted for hot iron, and the 7th Hussars charged the French Lancers in the village of Genappe. Their swords were not, however, heavy enough, and it required the sabres of the Life Guards to force back the enemy.

After this the horsemen, closely followed by the French, continued their journey to Mont-Saint-Jean, where the infantry were already in position. Wellington had chosen his own battle-ground, and here was to be settled the destiny of the First Empire. The French had at length reached the thin red line they were destined never to cross. It was now seven o'clock, and the allied army was in position on the plateau in front of Mont-Saint-Jean, when, borne on by the impetus of the troops behind, the heads of some French columns appeared in the valley in front. Picton opened fire upon them and inflicted some loss before the light failed. Napoleon was full of confidence, and only feared Wellington might decline to fight. His anxiety was indeed so great that several times during the night he anxiously peered through the rain to assure himself that his foe was still in position.

He need not have been alarmed, for the Anglo-Dutch had no intention of moving, except towards France; 67,661 men of all arms, with 156 guns, had taken up their position. More were available, but the Duke, still fearing a flanking movement on his right, deprived himself of the aid of the Netherland corps under Prince Frederick of Orange, and some troops of the 4th Division under General Colville—in all 17,500 men—and stationed them thirteen miles away near Hal.¹ These troops did not, therefore, take part in the battle at all.

¹ Up to the last moment Wellington expected Napoleon would endeavour to turn his position by a march upon Hal. The Duke's Memorandum on "Waterloo Supplementary Despatches," vol. x. p. 530.

Napoleon had now, after detaching the two corps under Grouchy, 71,947 men, of whom 15,000 were cavalry, and 246 guns. These were all seasoned troops, whereas the force under Wellington largely consisted of young recruits and militiamen. Again, the Duke did not know until early on the 18th that Blucher would be able to move his force at day-break to attack the French right, and it therefore reflects the more credit and glory on him that he decided with such an inferior force to stand up against the greatest master of warfare of the age. It seems clear that Wellington's final plan was, if possible, to wait for the Prussians to appear on his left, but that if he were unable to keep his position, to retire to Ostend, using the corps at Hal to cover his retreat, while the Prussians fell on the French rear.¹ It was an extraordinary army that bivouacked on the plateau: British, Germans, Hanoverians, Brunswickers, Dutch, Belgians, and the small Nassau contingent. Round the camp fires could be heard the medley of five languages, as the flames dully glowed on the wet uniforms of many and varied hues and shapes. The Duke himself afterwards called it "the worst equipped army with the worst staff ever brought together," yet it was destined to win the most famous battle in modern history. At daybreak on the 18th of June both forces girded themselves for the contest. The position taken up by the allies was near the hamlet of Mont-Saint-Jean, two miles south of the village of Waterloo, and about eleven miles from Brussels. Their line extended for about three miles at right angles to the road from Genappe to Brussels, just in front of the cross road from Ohain to Braine-la-Leud, which runs along the edge of a ridge. In front the land dips into a valley, then rises again, and here Napoleon's army faced them, at a distance of about one mile. The position chosen by Wellington lent itself excellently to defensive tactics, for the land dipped again behind his first line, so that his cavalry and reserves were hidden from the enemy. On the extreme left were the cavalry brigades of Vivian and Vandaleur, next to whom were the Nassau brigade under Prince Edward of Saxe-Weimar, and Wincke's Hanoverian brigade. To their right came

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¹ "Life of Wellington," Maxwell, vol. ii. pp. 47-48.

1815. Best's Hanoverian brigade, Pack's Highland brigade, and
June. Kempt's light infantry, which reached to the centre of the line where the two roads cross. In front of Kempt was the Dutch brigade of Bylandt in a very exposed position. Picton was in command of the whole of the 5th Division. Crossing the road the brigades in order were Ompteda's German legion, Kielmansegge's Hanoverians, and Halket's 5th Brigade under Alten, to whose right was situated the Guards' Division, consisting of the brigades of Maitland and Byng, and farther on was Clinton's 2nd Division held in reserve, while on the extreme right Chasse's Dutch division occupied the vicinity of the village of Braine-la-Leud. Lord Edward Somerset's heavy cavalry and the Dutch cavalry were behind the centre of the line, and on the left of the road Ponsonby's Union brigade was stationed.¹

In front of this main line were some fortified posts of great importance, round about which indeed most of the tragedy of the day was to be enacted. On the right of the main road, three hundred yards from the centre of the line, was the farmhouse of La Haye Sainte, which was occupied by four hundred men of the King's German legion. In front of the extreme left Perponcher's Dutchmen occupied the farm of La Haye and Papelotte, while five hundred yards from the line on the right were the château, gardens, and farmhouse of Goumont, now called Hougoumont. When the battle was fought it was screened by a thick wood, which has since disappeared. Two battalions of Guards, a Nassau regiment, and some Hanoverian troops at first defended the place, but later in the day four more companies of the Coldstream and the Scots Guards were sent to reinforce the hard-worked garrison.

Napoleon made his headquarters at the farm of Le Caillou, and early on the morning of the 18th held a council of war with Soult, Bassano, Drouot, and Ney, who entered with the news that Wellington was retreating. "You have seen wrong," was Napoleon's answer.² Soult now suggested

¹ The description of the position of the brigades is taken from Sir Herbert Maxwell's "Life of Wellington," vol. ii. p. 54 *et seq.*

² "Vous avez mal vu, lui répondit ce Prince; il n'est plus temps; il s'exposerait à une perte certaine; il a jeté les dés et ils sont pour nous." "Napoleon Correspondence," vol. xxxi. p. 183.

the recall of part of Grouchy's corps, but was severely snubbed for his advice. Reille then opined that the English infantry were impregnable to a frontal attack, and Jerome Bonaparte stated that an hotel waiter at Genappe told him he had heard an aide-de-camp say that Wellington and Blucher had arranged to meet at Mont-Saint-Jean as soon as the Prussians could be led from Wavre. Napoleon was determined, and hearkened to none. Mounting his charger Marengo, he rode to the Belle Alliance as the centre of his line and again reassured himself that the allies still crowned the ridge. 1815.
June.

The controversy which has since arisen concerning Napoleon's orders to Grouchy does not concern us here, and let it suffice to say that they were very ambiguous, while the account that marshal sent to him was not accurate. At 10 P.M. on the 17th the Emperor received a despatch from Grouchy, stating that part of the Prussians had retired towards Wavre, probably with the object of joining Wellington, and that their centre, led by Blucher, had fallen back in the direction of Liege, while a column with artillery had made for Namur. He proposed to follow the chief force either towards Liege or Wavre "in order that they may not gain Brussels, and so as to separate them from Wellington." Napoleon already knew that a strong force of Prussians was at Wavre, and it should have been clear to him that it was useless for Grouchy to follow them there if they intended marching westward to Mont-Saint-Jean. Nevertheless at 10 A.M. he wrote to Grouchy: "You will direct your movements upon Wavre, so as to approach us, act in concert with us, and keep communication with us, driving before you the Prussian army which has taken that route, and which may have halted at Wavre, where you must arrive as soon as possible."¹ Grouchy obeyed the former part of this order, but a glance at the map will show that with his force it was impossible both to advance on Wavre

¹ Houssaye, p. 316, note, quoted from "Wellington," Maxwell, vol. i, p. 61. In the general description of the battle Sir Herbert Maxwell has been closely followed, but reference has been constantly made to Wellington's "Despatches" and Napoleon's "Correspondence." No attempt has been made to enter into a detailed account, which must have included a great deal of controverted matter.

1815. and keep communication with Napoleon. He did, however,
June. succeed in falling upon and defeating Thielmann's corps at Wavre. This was of little use, for Blucher, who had now recovered sufficiently to take the command, at the same time was able to march unmolested to the assistance of Wellington.

The French troops had now all arrived and taken up their positions. On the right of the main road was D'Erlon's corps, formed of the columns of Durette, Marcognet, Donzelot, and Allix; to the left Reille's corps under Bachelu, Foy, and Jerome; Pire's cavalry were opposite Hougoumont, while Kellermann and Guyot were nearer the centre behind the first line. The cavalry of Milhaud were on the right, and in the centre, just in front of the farm of Rossomme, were the Imperial Guard.

An hour before midday the booming of guns on the French left heralded the challenge, which was answered by a burst of fire on the allied right. Jerome then led four regiments towards Hougoumont, covered by the smoke, while Pire's Lancers advanced along the Nivelle road. The attack, intended to be chiefly a feint, developed into a furious and deadly fight lasting the whole day. At one time the French succeeded in outflanking the enclosure, then more companies of the Guards appeared, and the position was still held. Through the hail of missiles pouring out of the loopholes and over the garden wall the enemy advanced with wondrous endurance foot by foot, again and again, only to die a soldier's death. For the main attack Napoleon's plan was simple. A mighty blow at the mass of bayonets, guns, and sabres in the centre of the allied line. Ney was to direct it. Eighty guns with columns of infantry were drawn up in front of La Belle Alliance waiting to advance, when suddenly a strange shadow appeared about six miles to the north-east. What was it? Troops or trees? If the former, Grouchy or the Prussians.¹ Napoleon at once ordered the light cavalry of Domon and Subervie to reconnoitre and discover. Soon after a Prussian sergeant was captured with a letter from Bulow to Wellington, stating that the 4th Prussian corps had reached Chapelle-Saint-Lambert. At once Soult wrote to

¹ See the vivid description by Napoleon. "Correspondence," *xxx*. 188.

Grouchy telling him to abandon Wavre, to fall on the rear of Bülow and join the French right; but this order did not reach him until five o'clock. As it was then too late to reach Waterloo, he could do no more than continue his attack on Wavre. 1815.
June.

Meanwhile Napoleon sent Count Lobau with the 6th Corps to check Bülow in front until Grouchy should fall on his rear. Then he ordered the attack on the centre. Eighty guns thundered a salute on each side, while D'Erlon's divisions advanced into the valley supported on their left flank by cavalry. The heavy mass moved irresistibly on. A Hanoverian battalion was sent to help the garrison of La Haye Sainte, but was driven back by Milhaud's cuirassiers, and Donzelot's troops then advanced upon the unfortunate Dutch-Belgians, who had been subjected in a most exposed position all day to a heavy cannonade. Human beings could stand no more, and they wavered and retired before the French, who gained the ridge in ignorance of the close-lying infantry behind. It was Picton's opportunity. "First a volley, then cold steel," was the brave old soldier's last order as he fell with a bullet in his temple, and died cheering on his men. Donzelot's troops, riddled with lead and drilled with steel, paused astonished. It was the time for horsemen. Up thundered the Union Brigade and crashed into the disordered mass. The weight of the 1st Royal Dragoons, the Scots Greys, and the Inniskillings swinging down the slope crushed the divisions of Donzelot and Marcognet out of recognition. Then, carried on by the excitement of pursuit, the horsemen rode right into the mouths of the enemy's guns, and returned without their gallant leader Ponsonby.

On the other side of the road Lord Uxbridge himself led Lord Edward Somerset's heavy brigade against Allix's infantry and Milhaud's cuirassiers, who flinched and fled from the glittering blades. A pause now occurred in the centre. There was none about Hougomont, where a new and more terrible enemy had appeared. The barn was on fire; at any moment the roof might fall in and crush the defenders. Still the enemy reaped no benefit, but many of the wounded ended their agonies in the flames. Jerome had failed.

1815. Foy's division ordered by Reille to reinforce met with the
June. same fate. Lastly Bachelu also attacked. It was all to no purpose; twelve hundred resolute men held at bay twelve thousand during the whole day.

About three o'clock Napoleon received a despatch from Grouchy, written at 11.30 A.M., which stated that he was still at Walhain, eight miles from Wavre. No help could be expected from him then, unless he had altered his line of march to the left when he heard the guns of Waterloo. Bülow was already less than five miles from La Belle Alliance. La Haye Sainte must be taken and the centre pierced before he arrived on the scene. Again the task was entrusted to Ney, and again the hissing shells were hurled from the eighty guns. Again D'Erlon's shattered columns re-formed and commenced their deadly mile-long journey. It was destined to have the same ending—La Haye Sainte still held out, and the skirmishers could not face the well-directed storm of lead which came from behind the hedgerows on the summit. But if the allies could not be reached by the bayonet, they were suffering severely from the terrific cannonade. Wellington therefore withdrew some of them behind the dip of the plateau. Ney mistook this for a movement of retreat, and asked for cavalry. Two whole divisions of 4000 strong were sent. On they came, into the valley and up the slope, right into the sulphurous shot-laden breath of the guns. A few more yards only between them and victory, the riders thought. They were grievously disappointed. Behind the ridge was not a flying throng of the enemy. Instead forests of bristling steel appeared in front and on each side. The pluck and discipline of the Red Lancers and light cavalry of the Guard was magnificent. With ranks already thinned they rode about among the squares for nearly three-quarters of an hour, then were forced to retire by cavalry charges.

Again and again the same terrible act was renewed. Fountains of flame and iron played upon the advancing horsemen in front, while from the left hailed the leaden missiles directed by Adam's Brigade and Duplat's King's Germans, now placed behind Hougomont. It was six o'clock, and the French cavalry were exhausted. Every moment the situa-

tion became more critical. Blücher, who had joined Bülow at Chapelle-Saint-Lambert, was pressing on his tired and hungry troops. Dragging their guns behind them they crossed the valley of the Lashne, and at 4.30 Bülow's vanguard appeared behind Frischermont. Lobau's corps swung round to the right to meet them. The effect of the movement was counterbalanced by Bülow, who advanced his left wing and gained a footing in the village of Planchenoit in the rear of the French centre. It was imperative to regain the village, and to Duhesme, at the head of the Young Guard, was given the task. An unequal fight ensued, fresh troops against weary, and the Prussians were driven out.

1815.
June.

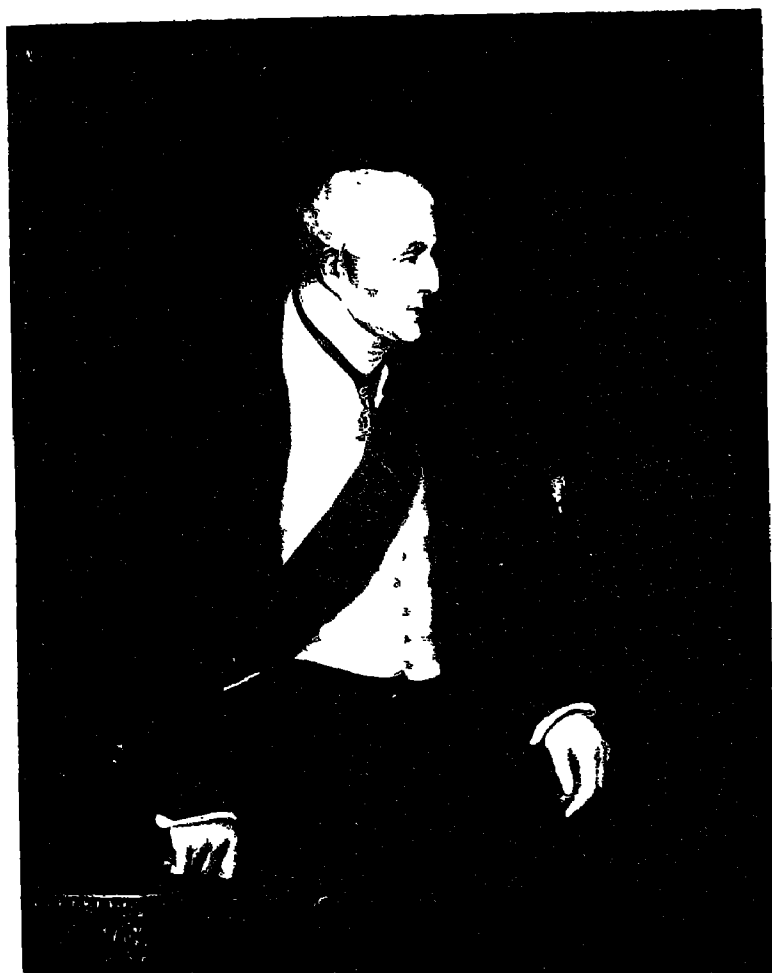
Satisfied with this, the Emperor ordered Ney to capture La Haye Sainte at all costs. For five hours the gallant German defenders had held the post; all their ammunition had been expended, and the ordinary British bullets would not fit their rifles. Still they resisted with bayonets until the French burst in, and Baring was forced to retire with his forty-two companions to the main line. It was a terrible loss to the allies; sharpshooters now swept the space between the erstwhile fortress and the line, while roaring cannon belched upon the rhombs of men scarce three hundred paces distant. The crisis of the fight had arrived; a few battalions of riflemen could have drilled the centre of the line. General Ompteda was killed, Sir William de Lancey, the Quartermaster-General, and Sir Alexander Gordon were wounded to death, while, farther to the right, the Prince of Orange and General Alten were also struck down. Still undaunted, Wellington led up the reserve of Brunswickers, rallied the remains of Alten's division, and brought in some Germans from the left, while the horse of Vandaleur and Vivian were ordered nearer to the centre.

Ney sent impatiently for more troops, but only received the answer from Napoleon: "Troops! where am I to get them? Does he expect me to make them?" In truth, the situation was equally serious for the French. The Prussians were once more in possession of Planchenoit, and it required the whole weight of the veteran Guards to dislodge them. Bülow's men were cast out, but the head of Pirch's troops stretched aid to him, while Zieten's corps threatened the

1815.
June. French right at Smohain. Still, if Planchenoit could be held, there was time to crush the allied centre. It was past seven o'clock, but one great stroke could yet win the day. Napoleon himself led nine solid squares of Guards to their opportunity. Eight of these he gave to Ney, who took them in diagonal line across the space towards the front of bristling steel. A perfect whirlwind of shot and grape poured from the deadly tubes. Still the columns struggled on. The guns were at last passed, the ridge was gained, nothing was in front, the battle surely won, when, suddenly, "Stand up, Guards," ordered the Duke, and from the shelter of the road bank rose Maitland's brigade of Guards, four deep, and fifteen hundred strong. A volley, point-blank, at sixty paces, was poured into the living blocks, which quivered and shook to the blast. Before they could recover, the Guards were upon them, and a disordered mass was flying down the hill. Still the rear squares steadily advanced, while Maitland's men regained their position on the crest. Colborne now brought his battalion on to the flank of the advancing mass, while some of the troops at Hougoumont fired into their rear. Assailed in front, to the left, and behind, the last of the French Guard wavered and fell back. The Emperor was watching through his glass. "Mais ils sont mêlées!" he exclaimed, as his glory set with the sun.

There, indeed, the pride and hope of France was straggling down the hill before the sabres, gleaming grey in the twilight, of Vivian and Vandaleur. The news, like a flash of lightning, spread over and dazed the whole French army. Reille, with still unbroken columns on the left, and Durette on the right, who had suddenly found himself face to face with Zieten's troops, simultaneously heard that the Guard was beaten back. Napoleon, courageous to the end, if not hopeful, for a last time rallied the Old Guard, and launched his cavalry once more unsuccessfully against Vivian's Hussars.

Wellington rode to the crest, and, raising his cocked hat, pointed forward. The line, which had stood the fearful strain of shot and steel for nine long hours, moved grandly and irresistibly on down into the hollow. At the bottom it paused for a moment, then advanced up the hill against the



Frontispiece from 1875

Wells & Wells 1875

Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington, K.G.

few regiments still standing.¹ Napoleon rode into a square of the Guards which was being riddled with shot, but kept the cavalry at bay. The man of a hundred battles knew it was useless slaughter, and as he left the field ordered the retreat. 1815.
June.

The Prussians had already driven the French Guard from Planchenoit, and sent them a mass of fugitives along the road to France. The tryst had been nobly and faithfully kept. Fifteen miles' march over terribly rough ground, then through the marshes of Lasne harnessed to the guns, and a hard fight from Frischermont to Planchenoit, was the day's work of these splendid troops. Gneisenau took up the pursuit along the road to France, when many a face was made to take its last glance at the pale moon above. At Genappe the cavalry captured Napoleon's carriage, baggage, and most of the artillery, while Wellington and Blucher met on the blood-stained ground about La Belle Alliance. No critic can sum up the services of the Prussian army more honourably, nobly, or justly than did Wellington in his official despatch:—

"I should not do justice to my own feelings, or to Marshal Blucher and the Prussian army, if I did not attribute the successful result of this arduous day to the cordial and timely assistance I received from them. The operation of General Bülow upon the enemy's flank was a most decisive one; and even if I had not found myself in a situation to make the attack which produced the final result, it would have forced the enemy to retire if his attacks should have failed, and would have prevented him from taking advantage of them if they should unfortunately have succeeded."²

Next day was reckoned the cost of this mighty victory. The figures tell their own awful tale. Over 23,000 of the allies were killed or wounded, and nearly 30,000 French.³

¹ Memorandum by Wellington. "Supplementary Despatches," vol. x. p. 513.

² "Wellington Despatches," vol. xii. p. 484.

³ Napoleon's estimate of 60,800 for the allies, and 41,000 for the French, is a manifest exaggeration. "Correspondence," vol. xxxi. p. 199.

CHAPTER XXXI

Reception of the news of Waterloo—Napoleon removed to St. Helena—"The last phase"—Dissatisfaction in England with the restored French Government—The settlement effected—Slave trade abolished by Louis XVIII.—The effects of the war—Foundation of modern British Empire—Settlement of Europe—Conspiracy in Brussels and Berlin—Settlement of Spain and Naples—Piracy suppressed in the Mediterranean—Libels in the press of Belgium—Attempt on the life of Wellington.

1815.
June. THE Prince Regent, the Commander-in-Chief, and Lord Castlereagh were dining together in a house in St. James's Square when an urgent messenger was announced. It was Mr. Henry Percy, who had travelled night and day from the scene of victory, and now with breathless haste told the story of Waterloo. Then, kneeling to his sovereign, was rewarded by hearing the command, "Arise, Colonel Percy."

Quickly as he had travelled he was outpaced by the private courier of the banker Rothschild, who, with a keen eye on the stock market, had arranged for a specially fast sloop to cross the Channel. He also was rewarded, for Consols, which had fallen under 59, now rapidly rose. The military prestige of Great Britain had sunk during the early years of the war, but was now raised to its zenith. The French had been driven foot by foot from the Peninsular, and each of their generals in turn had been vanquished. Now the Emperor himself had been fairly and squarely beaten by an allied army under a soldier of England. Henceforth Wellington, by common consent of the allies and Louis XVIII., took the first place in the councils. He was not a politician, and he knew it, but being prompted by Castlereagh, proved himself firm and tactful in the negotiations which were now speedily completed.

Meanwhile the greatest soldier of fortune who has ever lived, the man who bent the social axis of the world to his will for ten eventual years, was dethroned. Mercifully the greatness of his loss seems to have been hidden from him. He knew not that he had fallen for ever, that at

length the magical spell of his presence had been broken, that, if it had survived Moscow and Leipzig, it had been finally destroyed at Waterloo. Everybody else in France knew the Empire was at an end, and that it was necessary to find rulers temporarily until the kingdom could be once more erected. The Chamber of Deputies appointed an Executive of five—Carnot, Caulaincourt, Fouché, Grenier, and Quinette—three of whom were regicides. Napoleon now spoke of raising another army of 300,000 men. He was ordered instead to leave Paris. On the Sunday following Waterloo he obeyed, and drove quietly to Malmaison. As he left the city a flying column, sent by Blücher, thundered in with orders to effect his capture. Fouché, wishing to prevent this, instructed him to leave for Rochefort and set sail from France with two frigates. Still he had not lost faith in himself, and repeatedly begged for permission to take command of the French armies once more and beat Blücher and Wellington. The five directors of France knew it was impossible, and firmly refused his requests. At length he went on board the *Saale* on July 8th, and sent Savary and Las Cases, who had accompanied him, to Captain Maitland of H.M.S. *Bellerophon*, which was then cruising off the main channel, to ask whether permits for Napoleon's voyage to America had been sent, or whether he would be allowed to sail in a merchant ship. Maitland, who had received express orders to prevent the escape of the Emperor, replied that he would oppose the frigates by force, and would not permit him to sail in a merchant ship. The channels were blocked with English warships, and it would have been madness to run the gauntlet. Napoleon therefore decided to throw himself upon the hospitality of the Prince Regent "as the most powerful, the most constant, and the most generous" of his enemies. The letter announcing this intention was written on July 13th and taken to the *Bellerophon* by Gourgard and Las Cases. Maitland at once replied that he would convey the ex-Emperor to England, where he would be entirely at the disposal of the English Government. Disregarding this condition, Napoleon promised to go to England as a private individual, and went on board the *Bellerophon* at dawn on the 15th, where he was

1815.
July.

1815.
August.

received with respect, but without a salute. After an uneventful voyage, Torbay was reached, and he was told that the Government had decided to restrain his liberty, and that St. Helena would be his home. Napoleon now protested strongly that he had come to England as a passenger on the *Bellerophon*, and not as a prisoner. It is, however, quite clear that Maitland had never promised that he would be allowed to land. Meanwhile it was decided by the representatives of the Powers at Paris that the custody of Napoleon should be left to the British, and that he should be taken to St. Helena on the *Northumberland*.¹

On August 7th the voyage commenced. The distinguished passenger was not, however, the Emperor of the French, but Napoleon Bonaparte, a General not on active service. A great deal has since been written about his treatment by the British Government which seems to have been dictated more by the emotions of the authors than by a calm contemplation of the facts. It is, indeed, very difficult for us to realise the strength of the feeling against him during the whole course of the war. It shows itself in many ways, even in official despatches, where he is usually referred to as the "head of the French Government," or as "Bonaparte," and not as the "Emperor of France." The question of the title itself is unimportant, and the refusal of it when he actually ruled as Emperor petty. It was by no means unreasonable, however, to refuse it now, for if no prestige or position was attached to the word "Emperor," it was meaningless, and if it conferred any power at all, the task of Admiral Cockburn, who conveyed him to St. Helena, and of Sir Hudson Lowe, the Governor of the island, would have been rendered more difficult. Every precaution was taken to prevent Bonaparte's escape, and this in itself caused many foolish stories of ill-treatment to be spread. When we consider, however, the man and his history, it is clear that he was given as much liberty as was consistent with his safe custody. The facts of course remain the same now as then, and it is not the province of the historian to note the various waves of emotion which at times encircle the memory of every great

¹ F. O. Records, Protocols, Paris, 38.

man and conceal the solid rocks upon which the truth is based. 1815 to 1821.

Undoubtedly many wild schemes were mooted to aid his escape, and undoubtedly our agents abroad were sometimes led by their zeal to attach undue importance to mere rumours. It is indeed probable that many of the alarming reports spread around were the work either of visionaries or of practical jokers,¹ and the fact remains that no serious attempt was ever made to effect a rescue. Napoleon amused himself at his residence, Longwood, by learning English, by gardening, and by drilling his suite. On the whole he appears to have been fairly cheerful and much more contented than the small band of friends who followed him into exile. Five years had passed when the first symptoms appeared of the malady which was afterwards to prove fatal. Increasing discomfort and pain in the stomach supervened, and on May 5, 1821, he passed quietly away. He was buried with full military honours in a valley on the island, and it was not until 1840 that his remains were removed to their final resting-place in Paris. Whatever our nation, whatever our disposition, whatever our knowledge of Napoleon, we can still say, "This was a man."

By the time the ex-Emperor had given himself up to Captain Maitland the allies had reached Paris. Louis XVIII. was restored to the throne, the executive of five dissolved itself, and Wellington for a time exercised almost supreme authority. Now that the dangerous work was done, the condition of France was freely criticised, and in England dissatisfaction was expressed at the manner in which the King had governed during the year before the return of

¹ On May 27, 1816, Lord Stuart, Ambassador at Paris, considered it his duty to acquaint Castlereagh with the fact that the frigate appointed to carry out Count Dupuis, the Governor of the Isle of Bourbon and the French establishment in the East Indies, was the *Amphitrite*, navigated by the crew who received Bonaparte at Rochefort last July, and whose goodwill was conciliated by large sums of money during the few days before he surrendered to the British. The despatch also relates that a letter had been intercepted by the police at Vienna, addressed to General Morand of Cracow, containing mysterious allusions to St. Helena, Ascension, and Philadelphia, and a reference to a communication in cypher which Morand is to receive about Bonaparte's situation. F. O. Records, France, 129.

1815.
August.

Napoleon. An article by Mr. J. W. Croker in the *Quarterly Review* probably gives an accurate picture of the opinion of those in authority.¹ There was indeed no doubt, he writes, that the discontent in France would cause the Jacobins to attempt some change in the Government, but that "it was never intended to call in the desperate aid of Bonaparte." The *Edinburgh Review* and the Opposition organs were still more averse to the measures of the restored Bourbons, but although France was much discussed, the settlement of Europe aroused little interest in the Press. The *St. James's Chronicle*, it is true, published in full the articles signed at the Congress of Vienna,² but very little comment upon them can be found in any of the newspapers. On the whole, however, the foreign policy of Liverpool's Government was not popular, and an unfavourable opinion was produced in England of the new French monarchy. Writers, indeed, were so critical and hostile that the Prime Minister complained to Castlereagh of the lack of support given to the Government.³ Wellington's task was therefore not made easier, but he persevered and fulfilled his mission with quiet firmness.

His first step was to have an interview with Fouché, and then to recommend him for office in order to please the extreme section of the Jacobin party. As his whole life had been spent intriguing, he was created Minister of Police, an office singularly fitted for his talents, on the principle that poachers make the best keepers. With Talleyrand and Fouché in power there was indeed little danger of any disturbance in Paris. It was also very important to establish Louis firmly on the throne before the arrival of the allies, for fear they might suggest some other arrangement. In the territorial settlement of France Wellington stood at first practically alone. Lord Liverpool wished to strip the country of the conquests made by Louis XIV., Prussia demanded Alsace and Lorraine, and Metternich also favoured a reduction of territory. Alexander, however, agreed with Wellington that France would never tolerate the return of

¹ *Quarterly Review*, 27, Art. iii., October 1815.

² July 22 to August 3, 1815.

³ Castlereagh, "Correspondence," vol. xi. p. 17.

the Bourbons if it were accompanied by a loss of French provinces.¹

1815.
Septem-
ber.

It was now decided that an army of occupation should remain in France, which should not interfere, however, with the Civil Government. The control of finances, police, and justice, even in the military stations, was to be left in the hands of the French Government, although the police were subject to the command of the generals, an arrangement which caused considerable friction at times.

The amount of the indemnity and the size of the army of occupation was next settled. The former was fixed at 750 millions of francs and the latter at 150,000 men. Paris has always shown an extravagant regard for the powers that be, and with the return of the King the ultra-royalist party soon gained the ascendancy. Talleyrand therefore found it necessary to shake off Fouché and to fall into line. This last change of political profession in the ex-Bishop was, however, viewed with so much suspicion, that before the Assembly met in the autumn he considered it politic to make way for the Duke of Richelieu, who had spent most of his life since the Revolution in the service of the Czar, and was indeed recommended by that monarch to Louis XVIII. It was not a happy choice, for he had not the strength to resist the demands of the extreme section, who, in order to prove their own loyalty, clamoured for the blood of those who disagreed with them. The negotiations, however, continued smoothly, and although Richelieu stated that the maximum sum which France could find in a year was 250 millions, it was decided that each year 140 millions should be paid as indemnity and 130 millions for the support of the army of occupation.²

Many other points of interest were settled. Louis gave orders that the French trade in slaves should cease at once

¹ F. O. Records. Protocols, Paris, 39 and 40. The Plenipotentiaries were, for Great Britain, the Duke of Wellington and Viscount Castlereagh; for Austria, Prince Metternich and Prince de Wessenberg; for Prussia, Prince Hardenberg and Baron Humboldt; for Russia, Count Rasumoffsky and Count Capo d'Istrie; and for France, Prince Talleyrand, the Duc de Dalberg, and Baron Louis.

² F. O. Records. Protocols, Paris, 39. Of the total 750 million francs, 187½ million francs should be spent in fortifications, 50 million should go to the armies of Wellington and Blücher, and the remaining 512½ millions should be divided among the allies.

1815.
Novem-
ber.

and for ever; it was publicly declared that the garrison of Elba did not form part of the French army, and that the troops would be regarded as foreigners; and the Government of Rome undertook not to allow Lucien Bonaparte or his family to leave the Papal States. The next step was to restore to their rightful owners all the works of art which had been brought to Paris by Napoleon. This aroused a great deal of resentment among the Parisians, who apparently failed to understand its necessity and justice. At this time also a remarkable compact was signed, known as the Treaty of Holy Alliance. It was invented by the Czar, was undoubtedly to him a serious profession of religious faith, and was intended to bind the monarchs of Europe to adopt literally the high principles of Christian ethics in their foreign policy. Frederick William signed the document with all seriousness, and the Emperor of Austria, after wondering whether he should submit it to his Minister of Politics or his Minister of Religion, also attached his signature. The Prince Regent not being in Paris, the Treaty was now confided to Castlereagh, who thought that Alexander must be suffering from a form of religious mania. The Treaty was indeed only intended to bind the consciences of the monarchs, and, as they signed it alone without the countersign of their Ministers, had no political meaning whatever. It was indeed truly styled by Metternich "verbiage," but nevertheless it would have been unconstitutional for the Prince Regent to attach his name to this or any other treaty without the signature of a Minister. He was therefore advised to compromise, and wrote to Alexander that he agreed with his principles, but continued, "The forms of the British Constitution which I am called upon to maintain in the name and in the place of the King, my father, prevent me from acceding to the treaty in the form in which it is laid before me." Thus was the difficulty overcome, and no one was any the worse or better for this curious agreement. Meanwhile Wellington and Castlereagh worked steadily together to moderate the demands of Prussia and Austria, and eventually, on November 20th, a Convention was signed by the envoys of the four Powers and by the Duc de Richelieu for France. All the foreign troops were to be withdrawn

except a garrison of 150,000 men, of whom each of the four great Powers agreed to find 30,000, while Bavaria, Hanover, Wurtemberg, Saxe and Denmark together arranged to provide the remainder. The Duke of Wellington being appointed to the chief command, fixed his headquarters at Cambrai, and at once enforced the most rigid discipline in order that no injury could possibly be done to the populace or their property.

1815.
Novem-
ber.

On November 20th the four Powers signed a treaty at Paris which pledged them jointly to resist any attempted revolution in France, and to protect the liberty of other States. This Quadruple Treaty also provided that the representatives of the four great Powers should meet at intervals of a few years for the purpose of considering their common interests and the best way of ensuring the peace of Europe. The twenty years' war was at an end, and what was the position of England? The National Debt had been increased by £600,000,000, and the apparent gains were Malta, the Cape of Good Hope, Ceylon, and a few islands in the West Indies. Yet what a mighty Empire has grown from these small places. They were indeed the keys to the East, and it is perfectly obvious from their despatches that the Ministers forming the Government of Lord Liverpool were well aware of the fact. It was no haphazard chance that actuated them in deciding which conquests to restore and which retain. Already the vision of a mighty Asiatic Empire was before their eyes; already the foundations, on a firm commercial basis, were laid for British India. England was supreme at sea, and had proved herself the conqueror of the greatest military power on land. The modern British Empire was born; Nelson and Wellington were its sponsors.

Morally, an even greater conquest had been attended by success. For years British statesmen had almost passionately urged foreign countries to abolish that abominable traffic in human beings which had so long disgraced civilisation. The Continental Powers even now could not realise the strength of the feeling in England, but were ready to humour what they regarded as an insular eccentricity. Louis XVIII. therefore pronounced that slavery should cease in the French colonies, and if many years were yet to elapse before human

1815.
Novem-
ber.

beings ceased to be bartered, a decided step had been taken in the right direction.

For the rest of Europe, it can only be said that the settlement was as satisfactory as it was possible to arrange. The balance of power was adjusted in such a manner that no one country greatly predominated in strength. Russia, if not satisfied, received so much of Poland that Alexander was not jealous of Austria, while to that empire Venice and Lombardy were restored. Prussia was well rewarded for her patriotic action by a part of Saxony, and France was not degraded by a loss of any of the territories possessed in 1790. It is indeed quite certain that the French would not have tolerated the return of the Bourbons if it had meant the loss of Alsace and Lorraine, for the cession of Belgium and the frontier of the Rhine was so keenly felt for the next few years that any further sacrifice would have aroused the people, even in their exhausted condition, to a violent if hopeless struggle.

Meanwhile reaction was rampant in France. Among the victims of the ultra-royalists was Marshal Ney. That he was a traitor of a pronounced kind is undoubtedly true, but there were so many of the same order in Paris that to be just it would have been necessary to execute most of the Peers themselves who condemned the distinguished soldier to death. It soon became apparent indeed that it was a great mistake to execute one of the popular idols, and that the advice of Lord Liverpool, who thought that the "daring to spill traitor's blood would alone manifest strength in the Government," was the worst possible. Ney was at once raised to the position of a martyr as well as a hero, and the new Government were regarded as tyrants placed and maintained in office by the force of foreign arms.

Richelieu himself was in favour of moderation, and brought in a Bill of general Amnesty, but experienced much difficulty in carrying it through the Chamber, although the people, with the exception of the frenzied ultra-royalists,¹

¹ "Ultra-royalist parties found in several departments, especially Pau, Bayonne, Toulouse, and Montaubon, for the purpose of corresponding with the Deputies of the Lower Chamber, and propagating their sentiments through the Provinces. Threatening letters sent to Deputies favourable to the law of

undoubtedly supported the Government. Castlereagh sided with Richelieu, partly because he could influence the Czar to support the King in France, which was one of the chief objects of the British Government,¹ and partly because he wished to see all strong passions calm down. In Prussia he also advocated a moderate policy, and advised Mr. Rose, the Ambassador at Berlin, to endeavour to keep the Powers friendly with each other, and not to put himself "at the head of any combination of Courts to keep others in check." He regarded Prussia, indeed, as the basis of every system in the north of Europe which would preserve the independence of Holland and keep France in check. Still, he was alarmed at the very free notions of the Government at Berlin, and at the fact that the army was by no means subordinate to the civil authorities.²

1816.
January.

Castlereagh thus laboured hard to keep the peace abroad, and urged moderation both in the foreign and domestic policy of the Continental governments. His advice was, however, only partially followed. It was, indeed, too much to expect that the convulsion which had shaken Europe would subside all at once. The Belgians were not satisfied, because the Dutch were selected for all the public appointments, and because the new Constitution of the Netherlands did not invest their King or his Government with sufficient strength.³ Bavaria was reluctant to abandon some of the territories awarded by the Congress to Austria, and Spain was feeling the full force of the reactionary policy of Ferdinand.

In England also the people were by no means restful, and the following incident shows that party feeling was running deep and strong. Three officers of the Grenadier Guards were arrested by the French Minister of Police and charged with high treason, inasmuch as they had aided in the escape of Comte la Fayette from Paris. Castlereagh, expecting that some plot was on foot, was very anxious to discover through whom the prisoners carried on their communications, for he

the Amnesty. Moderate party view with apprehension the departure of British troops, and wish them to stay until the spring." Sir C. Stuart to Castlereagh, Paris, January 8, 1816. F. O. Records, France, 129.

¹ Castlereagh to Stuart, January 6, 1816. F. O. Records, France, 129.

² Castlereagh to Mr. Rose, December 28, 1815. "Correspondence," vol. x.

³ Mr. James to Castlereagh, The Hague, February 10, 1816. Castlereagh "Correspondence," vol. x.

1816.
February.

thought that the Opposition would try "to bring the British Government into opprobrium and represent the whole alliance as a conspiracy against the liberty of Europe." He therefore instructed Stuart to ascertain if any communications passed between the leaders in England and their agents in Paris, but at the same time to afford the English officers the usual aid.¹ In March Lords Grey and Grenville called upon Lord Liverpool to discuss the matter, and were relieved to hear that the French Government did not intend to punish the officers severely, and eventually they were sentenced to three months' imprisonment. At the same time Lord Kinnaird, a politician who had subscribed largely to the funds of certain revolutionary societies, was suddenly ordered to leave Paris, although charged with no definite offence.² It is, indeed, highly improbable that any member of the Opposition was actually in league with conspirators in Paris and Brussels, although the feeling in the party against the Bourbons was undoubtedly very strong. In any case, we can hardly blame English officers for helping a personal friend to escape from the furious retribution with which all who were not ultra-royalists were threatened. Stuart thought that Kinnaird was connected with the affair, but was careful to avoid committing himself in the actual transaction, and that certain communications published in the *Morning Chronicle*, the organ of the Opposition, must have come through his correspondents.³

The Ministers of the four Powers now met in Paris to decide upon the best means of carrying out the intentions of the treaties. Considerable opposition was offered to Austria by Bavaria, and the designs of Russia in Turkey were still viewed with alarm. Alexander, however, was anxious to preserve peace, and remained very friendly to England, while Castlereagh was prepared to support the Austrian demands at Munich by every means short of war.⁴ It was, indeed,

¹ From Castlereagh, January 19, 1816. F. C. Records, France, 180. On March 9th Castlereagh wrote that Stuart must not interfere with the trial, but that if the prisoners were convicted of a capital offence he was to use his utmost powers to prevent execution.

² From Stuart, February 5, 1816. F. O. Records, France, 130.

³ *Ibid.*, January 23, 1816. Castlereagh "Correspondence," vol. x.

⁴ Castlereagh to Lord Stuart, January 29, 1816. "Correspondence," vol. x.

very important that Austria should be strengthened in order to adjust the balance with France. This policy had originated with Pitt, and had been adopted whenever an opportunity arose since the Revolution. Now it was necessary that the Emperor Francis should be strong enough to check the designs of the Czar in the East also, and it was possible to arrange this, for Metternich had during the last two years thrown off the suspicious reserve which he had assumed until it was clear that Napoleon must be overthrown. Thus was the balance of power in Europe maintained. 1816.
June.

On the whole, indeed, the policy of Lord Liverpool's Government as stated by Castlereagh for Europe generally, and as carried out with great tact by Wellington in France, was based on the best traditions. No attempt was made to interfere with the domestic affairs of nations, and a strong effort was made to enforce treaties to the letter. Castlereagh was then and has since been attacked because he did not attempt to persuade the rulers of the Continent to give constitutions to their countries. It must be remembered, however, that it was not the business of England to instruct monarchs how to rule their subjects, and it is also very obvious that the people were not yet fitted to exercise political power. Most of the monarchs, indeed, would have resented such advice, and thus bad feeling would have been aroused for nothing. Still, if Castlereagh had little faith in the ability of the people to govern wisely and peacefully, he had no objection to constitutions in themselves, and in this he differed from Metternich, who only believed in personal rule. It is true that Spain had proved to be a man and King Ferdinand a worm, but if the man could be taught to fight some one else, it became apparent during the Peninsular campaign that he was quite incapable of governing himself.

King Ferdinand indeed was both weak and obstinate, and for some time refused to accede to the Treaty of Vienna, although he was strongly advised to do so by Russia. He was dissatisfied with some articles which affected the succession to the throne, and asked the British Government to support his objections. Castlereagh at once refused to interfere in a matter already settled by a treaty to which

1816. England was a party.¹ Soon after, Metternich discovered
August. that the branches of the Bourbon family were trying to arrange a family compact once more, and had used the marriage of the Duke of Berry of Spain and the Princess Caroline of Naples as an excuse. The Neapolitan Government, however, refused to bind themselves to France, and steadily observed the provisions of the treaties.²

Alexander now wished to settle the dispute between Spain and Austria, which had been caused by the settlement of the Italian duchies upon Marie Louise and her son, Napoleon II., and suggested that France should arbitrate. M. Labrador, the Spanish Ambassador at Paris, however, determined to seek the joint support of the four allied courts.³ Castlereagh thought that as Napoleon had left Elba, he "had worked a forfeiture of the Paris stipulation, and that a life-interest was as much as his Empress had any claim to expect." He thought also that France would never agree to have Napoleon II. in Italy as quasi-sovereign, that it was not to the interests of Austria either, and that the Spanish family had a greater claim.⁴ Still he considered that even if Austria refused to agree to the Spanish reversion, Spain ought nevertheless to sign the treaties.

Stuart therefore informed M. Labrador that Spain must ratify the treaties of Vienna before acceding to that of Paris, and that any delay would endanger the whole arrangement of Europe. He continued that Russia had "already contemplated the reversion of the Italian duchies to purposes very different from those which are expected by the Spanish Government," and that until Spain signed the treaty without reserve, England would not propose to give to the Infanta of Spain the Italian duchies after the death of the Archduchess Marie Louise.⁵

This arrangement was then proposed by the British Government. Austria agreed to it, and the Spanish Government signed the treaties and the Act assuring the duchies to

¹ From Castlereagh, August 23, 1816. F. O. Records, France, 129.

² Stuart to Castlereagh, June 17, 1816. *Ibid.*

³ Stuart to Castlereagh, August 5, 1816. F. O. Records, France, 135.

⁴ Castlereagh to Stuart, September 16, 1816. "Correspondence," vol. x.

⁵ Stuart to Castlereagh, August 22, 1816. F. O. Records, France, 135.

the Infanta. Thus at length Europe was mapped out to the satisfaction of all.

1816.
Septem-
ber.

An evil which had imperilled the safe navigation of the Mediterranean was now dealt with by the British fleet. The slave-holding states of Barbary had infested the sea with a fleet of pirates, and carried off slaves and commerce whenever possible. Lord Exmouth, the commander of the Mediterranean squadron, was therefore ordered to visit the Mohammedan states, and to insist on the release of the Ionian slaves. Tripoli and Tunis at once set free their captives, but Algiers demanded time to refer the question to Constantinople, and asked for compensation. In the House of Commons the principle of ransoming slaves had been censured, and the Government therefore determined to use force. On August 27th Lord Exmouth approached Algiers and delivered an ultimatum, allowing two hours' grace in which to submit. As no answer was forthcoming he opened fire on the forts, and, after nine hours, reduced them to ruins and burnt the fleet lying within the mole. Next day the English terms were accepted, and on the 31st 1200 slaves were taken on board the ships of the fleet.

Another evil at this date unfortunately could not be so summarily and satisfactorily remedied. Many of the disaffected in France found an asylum in Liege and Brussels, where they obtained considerable influence over the Press, and proceeded to utter the most malicious libels against the French and English Governments. Richelieu so strongly protested that the Assembly of the States-General of the Netherlands proposed to pass a law to suppress the evil.¹ Castlereagh, on the other hand, thought it was impossible for England to interfere in a question of freedom of the Press with the King of the Netherlands, unless it seemed possible that the utterances in the newspapers might cause hostilities with other Powers.² Soon after it was discovered that a revolutionary plot was being matured in Brussels, and that both Lord Kinnaird and the Duke of Orange showed some sympathy with the movement. All this was communicated by the Prussian Am-

¹ F. O. Records, France, 136.

² Castlereagh to Clancarty, August 7, 1817. "Correspondence," vol. xi.

1816.
Septem-
ber.

bassador in London to the Government.¹ An attempt on the life of the Duke of Wellington followed on February 10, 1818, when a pistol was fired into his carriage as he was returning from dining with Sir Charles Stuart. This was certainly not part of any general scheme, for Lord Kinnaird had previously written to Sir George Murray warning him of the danger. The Duke, however, only scoffed at the information until the attempt was made, when he demanded to know the name of his assailant. Kinnaird refused to give it, and was therefore arrested in Paris, but was soon released at the request of the Duke, and returned to England.

It was afterwards discovered that the shot was fired by an ex-sergeant of dragoons, named Cantillon, who acted under the direction of some ex-officers of Napoleon. He was, however, acquitted by a French jury, and no one else was punished in any way. Meanwhile some difficulties were experienced before all the colonies were restored to their owners. The English officer at Senegal, on the coast of Africa, had received no instructions to give up the colony when the French frigate arrived to take possession. While he was waiting the ship unfortunately went ashore, and 150 persons were drowned.² This and other delays in restoring the French establishments in Africa and in the East Indies caused some bad feeling between the Governments of England and France, but harmony was preserved by the straightforward dealings of Castlereagh and Richelieu.

¹ Castlereagh to Clancarty, April 18, 1817. "Correspondence," vol. xi.

² Stuart to Castlereagh, September 9, 1816. F. O. Records, France, 136.

CHAPTER XXXII

Distress in the country—Luddite riots—Penalty of death imposed for breaking frames—Causes of distress—Socialistic theories—Income-tax repealed—Price of wheat—Protection imposed—More rioting—Hampden clubs—Spencean philanthropists—Rigorous action of the Government—The Blanket Meeting dispersed—The Derbyshire Insurrection—The freedom of writers attacked—The case of Hone—Death of the Princess Charlotte—Repeal of the Suspension Act—The Indemnifying Bill—Reform Measure defeated—Marriages of the Royal Dukes.

IMMEDIATELY the common danger caused by the war was removed, affairs at home clamoured for attention. Poverty and distress had increased during the whole period of strife, and low ominous growls were heard throughout the land. The foreign enemy had now been defeated and the time had arrived to make a strong attack upon the general poverty, which threatened to prove a far more deadly foe. Unfortunately the cause of the distress was by no means apparent. Many attributed it vaguely to the war; others to the advent of machinery; others to bad harvests; others to the fiscal policy of the Government; and others again to the state of the currency. Under such conditions strong united action was impossible.

After the series of bankruptcies in 1810, trade showed no signs of improving. Many workers were dismissed from their employment and rendered destitute and desperate. This was more especially the case in the neighbourhood of Nottingham, where the hosiers had been obliged to cut down their establishments. A new labour-saving machine was next used to make stockings, and many more men were thrown out of work. This was the last straw, and angered the weavers to such an extent that they determined to break up the hateful machines. On November 10th they therefore forcibly entered several houses in which were weaving-frames and destroyed them. Next day they visited the home of a manufacturer named Bulwell, who had determined to resist the destruction of his property, and had both barricaded his

1811. premises and armed his men. This defence only roused the rioters to a greater state of fury. They made a violent attack on the house in increased numbers and completely burnt everything of value, while the family fled for their lives. The spirit for mischief was fed by its success, and not only were frames destroyed, but millers, corn dealers, and others who were supposed to have raised the prices of provisions, were also threatened. The lawless throng, who had assumed the name of Luddites,¹ were now indeed becoming a dangerous force. The magistrates of Nottingham therefore appealed to the military to check the outrages, but by this time the neighbouring counties of Derby and Leicester were also infected with the spirit of unrest.

New machinery at first undoubtedly diminishes the demand for labour, and we can hardly blame the unfortunate workmen for regarding the frames as their worst enemy. In the long run, however, as we well know now, the effect of new inventions is first to cheapen the cost of articles and thus to convert what were at one time luxuries into common necessities, and secondly, to afford more work for skilled hands. This was not then apparent to the worker, who only looked for his weekly wage. Still less could he be expected to understand the causes which had increased the price of food. Indeed, the effects of the unrestricted paper currency had only just been realised by a few politicians.

It was then generally believed, and the idea still exists even now, that there is only a certain amount of work to be done each year, and that this must be divided among all workmen. Any machine which worked six times as quickly as human hands, and could be controlled by one man, seemed to deprive five persons of their means of livelihood. The thoughtless people did not realise that the machine itself had first to be made, that the ironstone had to be quarried from the earth and the coal mined, that the metal had to be separated from the stone, that many mechanics found employment in working the iron into the necessary shape and fixing it together, and that a great number of people were occupied in

¹ The origin of the term is obscure, some saying that Captain Ludd meant merely a gathering of men, and others that it is traced to a youth named Ned Ludham who broke his frame in pieces.

producing the food and other necessities for this new class of workers. No working man now maintains that the introduction of machinery diminished the total demand for labour in the last century, even if he does not yet fully realise that every new invention increases his opportunities. The same false idea exists that the amount of work available for all is limited every year, and that if one man does more than his share he is depriving some one else of his occupation. Hence every new machine is regarded even now with suspicion, and the speed at which it is run is carefully regulated by the Trades Unions. In many other countries, however, men are paid by piecework and not by time, and are also given a proportion of the profits. They are thus encouraged to drive their machines at full speed, and so are able to compete successfully with the English manufacturer and drive him from his markets.

1800 to
1815.

The destruction of frames in time became so frequent that a law was passed making the offence punishable by death. Machinery, however, was by no means responsible for the distress, and many other causes were acting which could neither be attacked nor defended so easily.

The large issue of bank-notes had expanded the currency so much that prices had risen more rapidly than wages, and thus caused the agricultural labourers and mechanics to be in reality poorer than they were before. Again, in spite of the high market price of food, the relatively even higher rent of land, and cost of seeds, ploughs, and other implements required in agriculture, caused farming to be unprofitable, and thus deprived the labourer of his work. Several bad seasons added to the distress and forced up the price of wheat to famine height. Legislative measures, such as the Brown Bread Bill, had but a small and temporary effect, and many suffered from absolute lack of food. The absurd Poor Laws put a premium on early and improvident marriages, and if the labourers with families were to some extent relieved, the middle-class of ratepayers were paralysed for want of funds to carry on their business. The great landowners found it difficult to collect their rents, and were forced to curtail their expenses by giving up such luxuries as horse-racing and sport, and this again threw

1815. many out of work. Starving in the country, the peasantry flocked to the towns, only to meet their brothers in distress streaming out of the newly-built factories, in which not even the regular hands could find work. The inventions of Watt and Arkwright increased the output of manufactured goods enormously and at the same time reduced their cost, but it was of little benefit to be able to buy cotton or woollen shirts cheaply to clothe the outsides of bodies which were not lined within. The people cried for meat and corn, and were given cheap linen and ribbed stockings instead. The freedom of contract which existed between the master and man enabled the former to depress wages almost to starvation point. Trades Unions only regulated the admission of duly qualified apprentices, and did not dream of the day when they would be powerful enough to dictate to the owners of industries the price of labour and the conditions under which the new machinery should be run.

Ammunition, engines of war, and stores necessary for a campaign, which had formed a great part of the subsidies and loans to foreign powers, were no longer in demand. Our own army and navy was to a great extent disbanded, which at the same time decreased the demand upon manufacturers and merchants and increased the glut in the labour market. Commerce was affected as well as industry, credit fell, owners of capital sought to realise their investments, banks and financial houses failed to meet the demand for gold, and bankruptcies became frequent, while, although the war taxes were removed, it was still necessary to pay the interest on the enormous national debt of £800,000,000.

Socialistic theories of many patterns were preached throughout the country, and schemes invented for making all prosperous and happy. Most were so visionary that it would have been impossible to put them to a practical test. Robert Owen¹ only was so far successful that he was enabled to prove in 1825 that Communism would not work.

¹ In 1817 he sent a report to the Committee of the House of Commons on the Poor Law, advocating the establishment of colonies of about 1200 people, who would all work under a system of Communism. Later, in 1825, he established a colony in Indiana, U.S.A., called New Harmony, which failed in a few years.

St. Simon¹ urged that each individual should be employed and paid by the governing authority in the State according to his merits, and that Society should own in common all the means of production. He also advocated general arbitration in place of war; but it is at once apparent that these schemes would only work in such a perfect society that they would not then be required. 1816. March.

One cause of great discontent was the income-tax, which remained at 5 per cent. This subject was therefore brought forward in the House of Lords on February 14, 1816, by Lord Grenville, who asked "whether they were still to be charged with an immense military establishment; whether they were now to be called upon to take their rank among the military States of the Continent; whether they were to abandon the wise maxims and policy of their forefathers, by which the country had risen to such a height, and had been enabled to make such great exertions, and, at a humble distance, turn servile imitators of those systems which had been the cause of so much distress and calamity to the nations by which they had been adopted and maintained?" Lord Liverpool replied that he thought these were "extraordinary and unreasonable fears"; but undoubtedly the feeling was very strong against the tax. The Corporation of London presented a petition for its repeal, and their example was followed by several other bodies and groups of individuals. To such appeals the Government could make no reply, and on March 18th the tax was repealed by a majority of 37 votes, amid general rejoicings.

An important step was now taken. The British and Irish Exchequers were merged into one according to the provisions in the Act of Union. In 1815 the Irish funded debt amounted to £127,865,000, and the debt of Great Britain in 1816 was £817,000,000. As a pecuniary boon to Ireland this action was the greatest that England has ever granted, indeed it probably saved the smaller country from bankruptcy. Still the distress continued, and a great deal of abuse was hurled at the head of the Prince Regent for his extravagant method of living. He was attacked

¹ St. Simon died in great poverty in 1825.

1815. both in Parliament by Brougham and in the Press, but did not attempt to check the indulgence of his desires.

The annual grant to the Crown instead of the old "hereditary revenue" was £800,000, but the salaries of judges, the expenses of foreign Ministers, and other charges not of a personal kind were paid from this fund. In 1815 the excess upon the Civil List was £530,000, and was caused to a certain extent by keeping up two royal establishments, one for the King at Windsor and one for the Regent. This was unavoidable, but as the expenses far exceeded the ministerial estimates, a Bill was passed to regulate better the expenditure of the Droits of the Crown and Admiralty. The House was, however, not actuated by any spirit of meanness, for on the marriage of the Princess Charlotte and Prince Leopold no one uttered a protest when they were granted the handsome allowance of £60,000 a year. Still the cost of the most extravagant of Princes is only froth in the ocean of national expense. Such small economies, although in themselves just and right, did not affect the causes of the national distress. This was due to the financial and commercial condition of the country, and was not improved by the, for the most part, unsound measures of the Government.¹

The price of wheat had steadily risen from an average of 75s. per quarter during the years 1802 to 1807, to 108s. between the years 1808 to 1813. In 1810 the foreign supply was very large, but in the following two years it was inconsiderable. The price of land and rents, therefore, rapidly rose,² and much waste land was enclosed with absolutely no regard for the quality of the soil. The small, careful farmer dreamt of becoming a great landowner, and business men in the towns proposed to exchange the shop for the field. In 1814 came a reaction, for the great crop of 1813

¹ The imports rose from £19,659,358 in 1792 to £32,620,771 in 1814, then fell to £26,374,921 in 1816. The exports rose from £18,336,851 in 1792 to £41,712,002 in 1815, and fell to £34,774,521 in 1816. (M'Culloch, "Imports and Exports.") These figures indicate the actual quantities, as the official values were rigid and not allowed to vary with the market changes.

² In Essex the rents of some farms rose from 10s. to 45s. an acre between 1793 and 1812, and in Berkshire farms which in 1790 were let at 14s. per acre, in 1810 produced a rent of 70s. Porter's "Progress of the Nation," p. 151.

was sufficient to supply the country for two or three years. 1815. The price of wheat soon reached the level of the average between 1802 and 1807, and as it fell so rose the cry of agricultural distress. A Bill was therefore hurried through Parliament which closed the ports until the price of wheat reached 80s. Very little discussion took place, but many great landowners, among them being Devonshire, Spencer, Grenville, Grey, and Wellesley, entered a solemn protest against the measure in the journal of the House of Lords. At the same time the manufacturers and merchants who had prepared enormous quantities of goods for export at the conclusion of peace were disappointed, for the people of Europe, however desirous to possess British-made articles, were too poor to pay for them. The root of the evil was, however, undoubtedly the paper currency. This is stated by Cobbett in the *Political Register*¹ of November 30, 1816, in language which is a good example of the mixture of shrewd reasoning and gross exaggeration found in that organ. "From this time (1797) there has been little besides paper money. This became plenty, and of course wages and corn and everything became high in price. But when the peace came, it was necessary to reduce the quantity of paper money, because when we came to have intercourse with foreign nations it would never do to sell a one-pound note at Calais, as was the case, for about thirteen shillings. The Bank and the Government had it in their power to lessen the quantity of paper. Down came prices in a little while, and if the debt and taxes had come down too in the same degree, there would have been no material injury; but they did not. Taxes have continued the same, hence our ruin, the complete ruin of the great mass of farmers and tradesmen and small landlords, and hence the misery of the people." * The first part of the case is so well and truly expressed that we must conclude that the writer knew that

¹ William Cobbett was an eccentric genius, who wrote in a most brilliant but superficial and unbalanced manner. He was at first articled to a solicitor, then enlisted in the 54th Foot and went to America, where he served seven years. Afterwards he started a periodical in Philadelphia called the *Peter Porcupine*, in which he libelled a great number of prominent men, and was heavily fined. He then returned to England and started the *Weekly Political Register*, in which he advocated Parliamentary Reform.

1816. the conclusions in the last sentence were not correct. The taxes were not heavy enough to cause much distress, and certainly not to ruin any one. As a matter of fact also, the issue of paper by the Bank had not been greatly reduced at the peace, although the amount in circulation had been lessened by the failure of the country banks. Every one realised the danger of the existing system, and on May 1, 1816, Mr. Horner moved for a committee to inquire whether it were not expedient for the Bank of England to return to cash payments. He pointed out that "the reduction of the currency had originated in the previous fall of the prices of agricultural produce. This fall had produced a destruction of the country bank paper to an extent which would not have been thought possible without more ruin than had ensued. The Bank of England," he continued, "had also reduced its currency during the past two years from twenty-nine to twenty-five millions." The Chancellor of the Exchequer did not differ greatly from Mr. Horner, but thought it was better to wait "until there was a considerable quantity of coin in circulation," and not embarrass the Bank by an immediate and general return to cash payments.¹ Prices therefore continued to see-saw; they were now once more to go up, for the harvest of 1816 was an exceptionally bad one, and at the end of July wheat had risen from 52s. 6d. to 103s. "Rebellions of the belly," as Bacon writes, began to manifest themselves. The storm burst even in the eastern counties, which had hitherto plodded on in peace. At Bury and Norwich machines were broken and ricks burnt. Banners, on which the words "Bread or blood" were emblazoned, were carried in processions, and all work ceased. Only one method of extinguishing the social volcano occurred to the authorities: it was to be smothered with red-coats. The unfortunate rabble was therefore attacked by soldiers, and several prisoners were captured. A Special Commission was appointed to try the culprits, and thirty-four rioters were

¹ Hansard, "Parliamentary Debates," vol. xxxiv. p. 143. Mr. Horner's motion was lost by 73 votes. In 1810 gold was at a premium of £8, 7s. 8d. per cent. It rose to £29, 4s. 1d. per cent. in 1813, and fell after the peace to £13, 9s. 6d. in 1815.

sentenced to death, of whom five were executed. A body of 1816.
colliers at Bilston next determined to march to London and petition the Regent. They were, however, met by a force of police with magistrates and induced to return peacefully to their homes. These men bore a placard with the words, "Willing to work but not to beg." In Staffordshire also the distress was great: furnaces no longer roared their fiery song, pits no longer gave their black treasure to man, and factories stood drear and desolate. The Luddites again took to the warpath, and destroyed many more frames under cover of the night at Loughborough. As the terror of death had failed to restore order, it became obvious that some gentler and more scientific means would have to be adopted. A meeting was therefore held at the City of London Tavern. The Duke of York was in the chair, and was supported by the Dukes of Kent and Cambridge, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and several peers. It was here proposed to raise £50,000 or £60,000 with which to find "new sources of employment to supply the place of those channels which had been suddenly shut up." The intention was good, but the evil was not to be uprooted by such measures, and the amount subscribed was too small to be of use except as a temporary relief fund.

The low murmur for reform which had continued during the whole war now increased into a loud and angry roar. The writings of William Cobbett were read in every cottage in the disaffected regions, and Hampden Clubs¹ were established in many of the large towns and villages. In London Sir Francis Burdett was elected chairman, and was supported by "Orator Hunt," as he was called, Cobbett, Lord Cochrane, and Samuel Bamford. They discussed and denounced the existing order of things, and expressed a general desire for reform, but always with a certain amount of decorum. Political oratory of a wilder nature was indulged in at the "Crown and Anchor" Tavern to the accompaniment of clouds of tobacco-smoke and pots of porter, and here the central idea was to buy the soldiers at one hundred guineas per man. This it was estimated would cost about "two millions, which

¹ The Hampden Club in London was founded by Mr. Northmore for the purpose of promoting Parliamentary Reform.

1817.
January. would be nothing in comparison with the National Debt, which would be wiped off."

Mr. Spencer, a schoolmaster in Yorkshire, was another visionary, who in 1800 was in favour of the national ownership of all the land, and was prosecuted for giving his opinion. His followers, the Spencean Philanthropists, were not content with this, and rapidly developed into a society of theoretical and foolish fanatics. Much more dangerous were the Radical leaders, Thistlewood and Watson. At a meeting in Spa Fields, held on December 2, 1816, the latter with his impassioned oratory worked upon the feelings of the crowd to such an extent that they allowed themselves to be led into rioting by his son, who carried a tricolour flag and was ambitious to seize the Tower of London. To obtain arms a gunsmith's shop on Snow Hill was attacked and plundered, and the rioters then marched along Cheapside to the Royal Exchange. Here they were met by the Lord Mayor and Sir James Shaw with a force of police and troops, and thinking that discretion was wiser than capture, immediately dispersed.

On the 28th of January 1817 the Regent opened Parliament in person, and stated in his speech that he was "determined to omit no precautions for preserving the public peace, and for counteracting the designs of the disaffected." On his return a missile was thrown at his carriage and a window was broken. This outrage was at once used by the Opposition as an argument in favour of rigid economy and instant reform; but although Canning admitted that a dangerous spirit existed, he denied that the present state of the franchise was a grievance.¹

The Government which had presented such a strong front to the whole of Europe, and had brought the settlement of 1815 to such a satisfactory ending, were apparently to be terrorised into tyranny by a few hungry weavers. The Ministers were, indeed, in an awkward dilemma. They had a choice of admitting that a seditious spirit existed and then bringing in a measure of reform, of denying that any serious trouble had arisen and then doing nothing, or of exaggerating the danger and then resorting to coercion. They adopted the latter alternative. In sonorous speeches the gravity of

¹ Hansard, vol. xxv. p. 130.

the situation was announced, and the public prepared for the next step, which was taken on February 3, 1817, when papers were laid before Parliament by order of the Prince Regent and referred to secret committees of the two Houses. These reported on the 18th and 19th of the month. Just as the intentions of the secret societies twenty years previously were grossly misrepresented, so, in this report, we are asked to believe that "the object is, by means of societies or clubs established or to be established in all parts of Great Britain, *under pretence of Parliamentary Reform*, to infect the minds of all classes of the community, and particularly of those whose situation most exposes them to such impressions, with a spirit of discontent and disaffection, of insubordination, and contempt of all law, religion, and morality, and to hold out to them the plunder of all property as the main object of their efforts and the restoration of their natural rights; and no endeavours are omitted to prepare them to take up arms on the first signal for accomplishing their designs."

1817.
February.

It seems almost incredible that after the odium and ridicule which Pitt's Government brought upon itself by forcing on prosecutions during the closing years of the eighteenth century, Liverpool's colleagues, among whom was the liberal-minded Canning, should pursue exactly the same policy. Yet the acts in the comedy drama were precisely similar. First, speeches in Parliament exaggerated the danger,¹ then secret committees issued reports not warranted by the evidence,² and finally coercive measures were introduced. Bills were brought in and passed by large majorities. These renewed the Act to prevent any attempt to seduce soldiers and sailors from their allegiance; extended to the Prince Regent the safeguards against treasonable attacks which applied to the actual

¹ The Lord Chancellor considered the transactions at Spa Fields to be "in point of law high treason." Castlereagh stated that he had "no hesitation in saying that in the view which his Majesty's Ministers took of the question, the country could not be secured against danger without a renewal of that measure" (the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act).

² The secret committee found on very insufficient evidence that "the plan of a simultaneous insurrection in different parts of the country had been actually concerted and its execution fully determined on." Hansard, *xxxvi.* 1096.

1817.
March.

Sovereign; prevented seditious meetings; and suspended the Habeas Corpus Act until the ensuing 1st of July. The Suspension Act was passed on March 3rd. A week after, a shoemaker of Manchester, William Benbow, and other Radical leaders arranged that a great number of working men should meet and march to London, where they hoped to petition the Regent in person. Four or five thousand men therefore met in St. Peter's Fields prepared for the journey with blankets or rugs rolled up and tied on their backs like knapsacks.

Before the procession started magistrates appeared, the Riot Act was read, and the meeting dispersed by military and constables, fortunately without bloodshed. The Government were now, indeed, seriously alarmed, and having stopped all vent to grievances, endeavoured to discover secret conspiracies. A few desperadoes certainly proposed that the Ministers should be killed, and one ambitious rebel suggested that Manchester should be treated as Moscow was,¹ but the majority of the rioters were hungry and sought work and bread, not reform or anarchy. Outrages were, however, common in Nottingham, Leicester, and Derby, and it was necessary to enforce the extreme penalty of the law in six cases of brutal ruffianism. None of the murderers were, however, connected with any political society. The Government now made another bad error. They welcomed any person who professed to be a delegate of a secret society, and who was willing to act as a spy. A man named Oliver volunteered to enlighten the authorities, and told the secret committee that although "London was ready to rise" it would not stir until the country moved. This was not true, and, indeed, most of his statements were fables, with a few facts added.

On the 8th of June a meeting was held at Pentridge, a village near to Nottingham, and many wild proposals were made. The whole country was to be aroused, and the Government overthrown, but no one suggested how this was to be done.² It was, however, arranged to meet on the

¹ Bamford, "*Life of a Radical*," vol. i. p. 77.

² "*State Trials*," vol. xxxii. pp. 755-863. It is of interest to give the definition of High Treason pronounced by Lord Chief Baron Richards at

following night at dusk. At the appointed time some hundreds assembled, and many carried pikes and firearms. Led by Jeremiah Brandeth, the rabble then commenced a march, and continued until they were met on the morning of the 10th of June by Mr. Rolleston, a Nottingham magistrate, and some troops. After a slight resistance had been overcome, the ringleaders and others were made prisoners, and about fifty rifles and other implements seized. Thus ended the "Derbyshire insurrection." In the trials for high treason which followed, Brandeth, who had committed murder, and two others were executed, but the jury refused to convict Watson for his share in the riot at Spa Fields. 1817.
June.

The second suspension of the Habeas Corpus was passed by large majorities in both Houses, and the Prince Regent, in his speech closing the Session on July 12, 1817, was made to say that "a favourable change was happily taking place in the internal situation of the country, which was to be mainly ascribed to the salutary measures which Parliament had adopted for procuring the public tranquillity." Shortly afterwards Lord Sidmouth revised all the cases of persons committed and detained under the Suspension Act, and many were liberated, and supplied with means to return to their homes.¹ Most of them ought never to have been arrested, and it is clear now that at no time would the ordinary processes of the law have been insufficient to stop the disturbances.

The Government having disposed of its opponents, who were armed with blunderbusses and broom-handles, now attacked those who fought with a more dangerous if less deadly weapon, the pen. The political writers had so carefully avoided libellous statements that the law officers of the Crown felt themselves impotent to take action. Lord Sidmouth therefore issued a circular to the Lords-Lieutenants of counties, in which he stated that the legal authorities in the Government were agreed that "a justice of the peace

this time. "If there is an insurrection—that is, a large rising of the people in order by force and violence to accomplish or avenge any private object of their own—that would not be high treason; that would not be levying war against the King. But if it be to effectuate any general public purpose, that is considered by the law as a levying of war."

¹ "Life of Lord Sidmouth," vol. iii. p. 196.

1817. may issue a warrant to apprehend a person charged before him upon oath with the publication of libels of a blasphemous or seditious nature."¹ Earl Grey, on May 12, argued against the legality of this action, and moved for the case laid before the law officers, but his motion was negatived by 75 to 19 votes.

The effect was somewhat curious. William Cobbett fled to America, although he was careful to explain that he had not "written anything that the law officers could prosecute with any chance of success." He knew, however, that with or without a just cause he would certainly be arrested. The freedom of writers was now sustained by a more courageous if less known parodist and pamphleteer, one Hone, an obscure bookseller, who sold his articles in a little shop in the Old Bailey. He was indicted for printing and publishing an impious and profane libel upon the Catechism, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, thereby bringing into contempt the Christian religion. Hone conducted his case in person, and proved that he had not brought religion into contempt, because he had only used the parody to ridicule the thing parodied. After quoting Martin Luther, Bishop Latimer, Dr. Boys, Dean of Canterbury, and Mr. Canning as writers of parodies, he concluded his defence by stating that immediately he had found his writings were offensive he had suppressed them. After considering for a quarter of an hour, the jury acquitted him, amidst the loud applause of the public. The Government, as if determined to follow in every detail the absurd precedents of 1797, rearrested him, and tried him again the following day with a similar result, and even went through the farce of a third trial. Still no jury could be found to convict, and the only benefit to the country of these trials was the resignation of Lord Chief Justice Ellenborough.²

No legislation of historical importance occurred during the year 1817. That hardy annual, the "Roman Catholic

¹ Hansard, vol. xxxvi. p. 446.

² The excessive folly of Lord Ellenborough can be explained partly by his weakness and ill-health. "The popular opinion was that Lord Ellenborough was killed by Hone's trial, and he certainly never held up his head in public after." "Lives of the Chief Justices of England," Campbell, vol. iii. p. 225.

Claim," was debated upon at great length, and the majority against the measure was reduced to twenty-four. A Bill to abolish sinecures was passed, and a pension list, almost as costly to the country, substituted. Parliamentary Reform was of course impossible until the disturbances in the country subsided. Meanwhile the general condition of the people showed a temporary improvement. The price of wheat fell in the autumn, and many industries revived. More work was therefore to be obtained, outrages became rarer, and both orators and writers moderated their tone.

The nation was, however, plunged into mourning by the death of the Princess Charlotte, who had married Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg in 1816, and died in childbirth a year after, thus leaving no heir to the throne. Parliament met on January 27, 1818, and in the King's Speech the people were congratulated on the cheerful signs of returning prosperity. The first step was to repeal the measure suspending the Habeas Corpus Act. In the debate Lord Lansdowne denied that the recent trials had furnished evidence of any conspiracy in the kingdom, and thought that the whole disturbance "sprung from partial discontent, with which the great body of the population of the place where it broke out were untainted. Even in the very villages through which the insurgents passed the people ran away from them; and in no part of the country was there any trace to be found of the existence of a conspiracy to alter the King's Government."¹

Sir Samuel Romilly then stated that "in his conscience he believed, from the information he had received, that the whole of that insurrection was the work of the persons sent by the Government—not indeed for the specific purpose of fomenting disaffection—but as emissaries of sedition from clubs that had never existed."² The Solicitor-General defended the action of the Government. He pointed out that at the trials for sedition the prisoners and their counsels

¹ Hansard, vol. xxxvii. p. 16.

² *Ibid.*, p. 36. In the report of the Secret Committee it was stated they "had seen reason to apprehend that the language and conduct of some persons from whom information had been derived might, in some instances, have had the effect of encouraging those designs, which it was intended they should only be the instruments of detecting." *Ibid.*, vol. xxxvii. p. 1097.

1818.
March.

had brought forward no evidence to show that the agents of the Government had excited a spirit of rebellion. With this the House of Commons had to be content, although it was thought by many members that Oliver had suggested or created mischief, in order that he might have something to report. It was, however, impossible to bring it home to him, and the discussion of the matter was postponed.

Prices still varied with extraordinary rapidity. In June 1817 the cost of wheat averaged 111s. 6d. By September it had fallen to 74s. 4d., and in November no more was imported. The harvest at home was however so bad that in December the price rose to 85s. 4d., while in February 1818 it became necessary to open the ports again. The cost of everything else varied also, and now increased so rapidly that people imagined they had discovered the highway to fortune. To buy in the markets abroad cheaply, and sell at home at the existing prices, seemed an easy way to acquire wealth. Enormous quantities of corn, silk, wool, cotton, and other produce were therefore imported, and agents and brokers flourished exceedingly. Many who were ignorant of the very elements of commerce bought substances they never even wished to see, and were rapidly drawn into the vortex of speculation. The country indeed seemed to be prosperous at last, and as the political temper of the people had improved when the Habeas Corpus Act was restored, reform meetings were now conducted peacefully and quietly.

According to custom it was necessary to whitewash the Government for ordering arrests contrary to the usual law. Secret committees of the Houses therefore examined the various reports of the disturbances and checked them; they then stated that the Ministers had exercised their powers temperately and judiciously, and indeed that they would have failed in their duty had they done less. This was only to be expected, as the Government possessed a large majority, and early in March an Indemnifying Bill passed the Lords and Commons without much debate. A strong protest was, however, entered in the journal of the Upper House by the Opposition, for Lords Lansdowne, Erskine, Holland, and seven others, maintained that Ministers were not entitled to indemnity for arrests that had been made on mere suspicion.

Next was raised the whole question of employing persons who might by their language and conduct in some instances have the effect of encouraging those designs which it was intended they should be only the instruments of detecting. The debate was opened by Mr. Fazakerley, and continued by Sir S. Romilly, Mr. Tierney, and Mr. Bennet, who were then answered by Mr. Canning, Mr. Wilberforce, and Mr. Bathurst.¹ The practical result was that the methods of Oliver were made public, and the system of choosing spies brought into disrepute. It was clearly explained, however, by Canning that, "as disaffection did exist, it was right to probe the extent of the danger; and in the imperfection of human means to dive into human actions, it was necessary to avail themselves of such means as were within their reach to ascertain the designs of the disaffected."

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March.

After the greater part of the session had been taken up by these debates, some useful business was done. A committee was appointed to consider the state of the Poor Laws, and three Bills were afterwards brought in; one established Select Vestries, another amended the Poor Laws generally, and a third regulated the Law of Settlement. Only the Vestries Bill, however, was passed. Commissioners were next appointed to examine the charities in England which were used for the education of the poor; and among other signs of an earnest endeavour to help the working-classes was a Bill brought in by Sir Robert Peel, which limited the number of hours that apprentices might be employed in cotton and other mills. This passed the Commons, but was thrown out by the Lords.

On June 2nd Sir Francis Burdett brought forward a scheme of Parliamentary Reform, which included universal male suffrage, annual Parliaments, equal electoral districts, elections all on one day, and voting by ballot. One hundred and six members opposed, while the mover and his seconder, Lord Cochrane, were the only two who supported the measure.²

Soon afterwards Lord Archibald Hamilton introduced a measure for reforming the Scotch burghs, which were

¹ Hansard, vol. xxxvii. p. 382.

² Ibid., vol. xxxviii. p. 1185.

1818. close corporations wherein the members practically nominated themselves. This also received no support, and was negatived without a division.

The Budget of 1818 was framed in the usual manner. The supplies voted were £21,000,000, in addition to the £30,000,000 interest on the debt. A new $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. stock was created out of the 3 per cents., and a sum of £3,000,000 was thereby raised for the public service.¹

Early in the session Ministers were asked whether the resumption of cash payments by the Bank would really take place on July 5th, as then fixed by law. In reply it was stated that the Bank was prepared to resume its payments in cash, and that the condition of the country warranted such a step, but that the pecuniary arrangements with foreign Powers made it necessary to continue the present system.²

Lord King in the Upper House and Mr. Tierney in the Lower deprecated this explanation, although there can be no doubt that it was the correct one. The loans negotiated for the French and Russian Governments were at such a high rate of interest that British capital was attracted out of the country. Besides this corn was imported at a high price, and the exports were on long credits, so that the rate of exchange was depressed. A Bill was therefore passed in May which continued the restriction to July 5, 1819.

This was a memorable marriage year for the royal family. Princess Elizabeth, third daughter of the King, was united to Prince Frederic Joseph of Hesse-Homburg on April 7th. A few days after Parliament was informed that marriages were being arranged between the Duke of Clarence and Princess Adelaide of Saxe-Meiningen, and between the Duke of Cambridge and the Princess Augusta of Hesse. The Prince Regent, in the message announcing these engagements, stated that he was sure the House of Commons would feel how essential it was to the best interests of the country that he should be enabled to make suitable pro-

¹ The argument in favour of this was that the holders of 5 per cent. and 4 per cent. stock would know that their stock could not be reduced lower than $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. for at least ten years. Hansard, vol. xxxviii. 214.

² *Ibid.*, p. 115.

visions for his brothers who should enter into wedlock.¹ Lord Castlereagh therefore proposed that £10,000 a year extra should be granted to the Duke of Clarence, and £6000 to the Dukes of Cumberland and Cambridge, and also to the Duke of Kent if he should marry. The vote to the Duke of Clarence was, however, reduced to £6000 by an amendment brought by Mr. Sumner. This sum His Royal Highness refused to accept, because he thought it was inadequate, and his marriage, it was announced, would not take place. The vote for the Duke of Cambridge was carried, but that for the Duke of Cumberland, who was not popular, and who had married the divorced wife of Frederic Louis Charles, Prince of Prussia, was refused. A few weeks afterwards the Prince Regent consented to a marriage between the Duke of Kent and Mary Louise Victoria, daughter of the Duke of Saxe-Coburg Saalfeld and widow of Enrich Charles, Prince of Leiningen. It was then discovered that the marriage of the Duke of Clarence was to take place in spite of his denial, and all the three royal Dukes entered the state of wedlock in June. All these marriages being fruitful, the danger of a disputed succession to the throne was removed.

1818.
June.

Just before the end of the session, the Alien Act, which had first been passed during the war and gave to the Government the power to remove any aliens who might become objects of suspicion, was renewed, but this time only after a most vigorous opposition. At the same time an old Scotch Act relating to aliens was also altered, and it was no longer possible to become a British subject by holding shares in the Bank of Scotland. On June 10th the Regent came to the House of Peers and suddenly dissolved Parliament, greatly to the astonishment of most of the Commons, who had not heard of such a proceeding since Charles II. dismissed his Parliament in 1681.² The proclamation for calling a new Parliament was made the same day.

¹ The total amount voted to the Royal Family at this time was £1,373,000.

² Mr. Manners Sutton, the Speaker, offered to read the speech at the table of the House of Commons, as was usual after a prorogation. Mr. Tierney objected, as such a proceeding would imply "some approbation of the mode of dissolution." Mr. Sutton then observed that there had been no such dissolution since that of the Oxford Parliament in the reign of Charles II. Hansard, vol. xxxviii. p. 1318.

CHAPTER XXXIII

The Spanish colonies—Opinion of Castlereagh—Basis of mediation proposed by Spain—State of Europe—Reaction in Russia and Prussia—Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle—Recapitulation of the chief treaties in force in 1818—Objects of the Treaty of Paris—Proposals of Alexander resisted by the English—Arrangements for paying the indemnities by France—Settlement of Aix-la-Chapelle—Confidence restored—The United States approaches England with respect to the Spanish colonies.

1817. EARLY in 1817 the Powers accepted the invitation of Spain to settle the Spanish and Portuguese claims to lands on the River Plate, and it was suggested that the Court of Brazil should also abide by the decision.¹ It was, however, made clear that the British Government would not agree to force the insurgent colonies to submit, and Castlereagh was careful to impress upon the Duke of San Carlos that no coercion would be permitted.

The British Minister knew that the insurgents doubted the good faith of the Spanish Government, and feared that force would be brought against them, and to this he attributed most of the trouble. He indeed did not hesitate to point out that as trade was flourishing between the colonies and the rest of the world, most commercial men were indifferent to their separation from Spain, and added that, while he was bound "to respect the judgment which an Independent State has exercised in the conduct of its own affairs, he imputes the evils to the course of policy which has been pursued."² Still he promised the mediation of the Prince Regent when "the negotiations are brought forward under circumstances which are calculated to afford a prospect of bringing them to a successful issue."

In July Spain promised to pardon all insurgents, to

¹ February 21, 1817, F. O. Records, France, 151. "The Court of Brazil may also be advantageously called upon to accept the mediation, and if not settled between the Spanish and Portuguese Ministers on the spot, to give full powers to the Portuguese plenipotentiary in Paris to conclude the whole under the joint mediation of the Powers."

² Castlereagh to the Duke of San Carlos, March 24, 1818. F. O. Records, Continent, 17.

admit qualified Americans as well as European Spaniards 1817. to offices and other favours, and to establish liberal tariff arrangements.¹

It is therefore clear that Castlereagh was by no means in favour of upholding the despotic power of Spain over her colonies, and that Lord Liverpool's Ministers clearly recognised that in time they must become independent. It is true that the Cabinet was very anxious to do nothing which would arouse violent opposition in the House of Commons, but the principles which chiefly influenced Castlereagh were based upon the tradition of allowing other nations to manage their own affairs, provided that the peace of the world was not thereby endangered.² In spite, therefore, of the earnest endeavours of Spain and Portugal to enlist the sympathy of the Powers, no aid was given them against their revolted colonies.

The condition of Europe was curious. Reaction in its worst form swayed Spain, but France had been saved from the ultra-royalists by King Louis' Ordonnance of September 5, 1816, which dissolved the Chamber. The new Parliament then passed a law which made the elections direct, and although the qualification for the franchise was still very high, the wealthy bourgeoisie could hold their own against the reactionary landed proprietors and the Church. Richelieu was able therefore to restore the national credit and to raise a loan on the security of the Church forests with which to pay the indemnities owing to the Powers. The country, weary of strife, now settled down so quietly

¹ Basis proposed by Spain, July 3, 1818 :—

(1) General amnesty for all insurgents at the time of their reduction.

(2) Admission of qualified Americans in common with European Spaniards to offices and other favours.

(3) The establishment of mercantile relations on liberal principles.

(4) A disposition of His Catholic Majesty to adopt all the measures that may be suggested by his high allies, which are compatible with his high dignity and preservation of their rights. F. O. Records, Continent, 17.

² Castlereagh to Stuart, February 22, 1817. His Royal Highness will not concur in any declaration "which might be interpreted as a pledge on the part of the Government to restore the Spanish authority by force of arms to its former state in the provinces belonging to Spain bordering on the Plate. . . . Your Excellency well knows that sweeping pledges of this nature are repugnant to the system of this Government, that they are specially unreasonable at the outset of an amicable and impartial intervention." F. O. Records, France, 151.

1817. that 30,000 men of the army of occupation were removed in 1817, and hopes were entertained that the rest would be withdrawn during the following year, after the Powers had met in conference at Aix-la-Chapelle. In England, as we have seen, the greatest distress and discontent existed during these years, and in Prussia the people were equally unfortunate. In spite of the promise of enfranchisement given by Frederick William in 1815, nothing was done, for Stein was allowed to retire into private life, and Hardenberg was powerless to stem the tide of reaction. The nobility and the middle classes generally being indifferent to reform, afforded no aid, and the movement was henceforth carried on only by professors, writers, and university students. A demonstration at Wartburg by over-zealous boys from the universities next frightened the Government, and all hopes of freedom were then dashed to the ground. Alexander at one time seemed in favour of reforming Russia, but soon changed his mind; and Austria still governed Italy in an autocratic manner.

Everywhere, indeed, the people were more democratic than the Governments, who still laboured under the fear of possible revolution. The King of Prussia was as usual very timid, and even the bold Alexander, who faced Napoleon with such confidence, was also frightened, it is said, by the discovery of several secret societies in Russia. This was the condition of affairs when the great Powers, according to a previous arrangement, met at Aix-la-Chapelle in September 1818 and began their conferences. Alexander at first proposed an Act to guarantee to each of the contracting parties their government and possessions in Europe, and it is probable that the Courts of Austria and Prussia would have agreed with him had not England refused to support such a measure.¹ Metternich, indeed, was aware of this, and so the idea was dropped.²

¹ Castlereagh to Bathurst, October 19, 1818. The Emperor of Russia and Capodistria were in conversation disposed to push their ideas very far indeed, in the sense "of all the Powers of Europe being bound together in a common league guaranteeing to each other the existing order of things in Throne as well as in Territories," all being bound to march if requisite against the first Power that offended. I tried to present something which would meet somewhat his ideas which we could present to Parliament. F. O. Records, Continent, 48.

² "Autobiography of Prince Metternich," vol. iii. p. 182.

In order to understand clearly the object of the Congress ^{1818.} at Aix-la-Chapelle, and the opinions of the Sovereigns and Ministers there assembled, it is necessary to recapitulate briefly the treaties which bound the Powers at this date. The Treaty of Chaumont, directed entirely against French Revolution and Napoleon, was originally designed to be in force for twenty years from March 1, 1814. The Treaty of Paris, signed in November 1815, reaffirmed the arrangement of Chaumont, and also the alliance of March 1815, signed at Vienna, and applied then to the existing condition of European affairs. We thus can confine our attention to the Paris Treaty, which was drawn up—(1) to maintain the terms of peace which had just been concluded; (2) to exclude Napoleon Bonaparte and his family from the throne of France; and (3) to oppose any revolutionary spirit similar to that which had convulsed France and endangered Europe, and which might occur again.¹ In order to enforce these provisions the four contracting parties agreed to provide 60,000 men each—the same number as stated in the Treaty of Chaumont—within two months of the need for combined action.

This treaty having received the sanction of the British Parliament in May 1816, the Government were now anxious not to alter it, and resisted Alexander, who wished to formulate a far more stringent agreement which would bind the Powers to meet at stated intervals for the purpose of discussing the general European situation.

The Duke of Wellington and Castlereagh were, indeed, dismayed by the vague yet extensive character of the Russian proposals, but soon Capodistria altered his tone and descended to practical argument.² It is now clearly evident that Lord Liverpool's Cabinet, of which Canning was an influential member, was quite satisfied with the existing engagements of the country, and had no wish to enter into others.³ Undoubtedly the Ministers were swayed by the clearly expressed wishes of the country and by doubt of

¹ Notes of Castlereagh before the Congress. F. O. Records, Continent, 46.

² F. O. Records, Continent, 48. "Capodistria descended from abstractions to practical discussion."

³ Lord Liverpool to Lord Castlereagh, October 23, 1818. Castlereagh "Correspondence," vol. xii. p. 61.

1818. the opinion of the new Parliament. Castlereagh, indeed, was so anxious on this point that he was unwilling that it should assemble until after the Congress had finished. The first and real business of the Congress was to arrange for the withdrawal from France of the foreign troops, according to the agreement in the Treaty of Paris. The Ministers accredited to the Congress were Metternich for Austria, Richelieu for France, Wellington and Castlereagh for England, Bernstoff and Hardenberg for Prussia, and Capodistria and Nesselrode for Russia. The first meeting took place on September 29th, and on October 1st the four Powers agreed to withdraw from France and to regulate the mode of paying the indemnity according to the Treaty of Paris.¹

It was arranged that France should pay 100 million francs value of Rentes to the Courts on October 5th, which would be met and realised by the banking firms of Hope & Co. and Baring & Co. The sum total which France remained indebted to the Powers was then fixed at 265 millions of francs, and it was suggested that 137 millions should be spent in fortifying the countries bordering on France in the following proportions:—

Pour les Pay Bas	60,000,000 francs.
„ Bas Rhin	20,000,000 „
„ Haut Rhin	40,000,000 „
„ Piémont	10,000,000 „
„ L'Espagne	7,000,000 „
Total	<u>137,000,000 francs.</u> ²

There was some talk of leaving a temporary army of observation on the frontiers, and Prussia tried to persuade Alexander to leave his troops in the Netherlands to garrison the fortresses, but these ideas were not adopted.³

It was now necessary to face the difficult question of the Quadruple Alliance against France, and to settle if it should be maintained. Richelieu pointed out that France now stood on the same footing as any other European country, and proposed that the Alliance of 1815 should be

¹ F. O. Records, Continent, 41.

² Ibid., 41.

³ Ibid., 48.

converted into a federation of the five great Powers.¹ Canning was strongly opposed to this, for he did not wish to entangle England in the affairs of the Continent. He also considered that such a step would be very unpopular in the country.² Castlereagh was therefore instructed to suggest that the invitation of the four Powers to France should assume the shape of a protocol and not a treaty, so as to avoid the necessity of a discussion in Parliament. In this manner France would be asked to join in a Diplomatic Concert, but excluded from the Quadruple Alliance.³ Metternich also being in favour of this method of proceeding,⁴ an arrangement was annexed to the protocol of October 19th on the following basis:—

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Novem-
ber.

(1) A special and secret protocol reaffirmed the principles of the Quadruple Alliance, and arranged for the meetings of the Sovereigns of Europe, if rendered necessary by the condition of Europe.

(2) A public article was signed also by the Duke of Richelieu and delivered to all the signatory Powers of the Treaty of Vienna, which

1. Declared the motives for the association of France and the other Powers;

2. Pointed out the need, and traced the principles of that great Union; and

3. Regulated its form.⁵

This being carried out on November 15, 1818, the Quadruple Alliance against French Revolution was renewed, and detailed arrangements were made to amass troops in case of disturbance. This agreement was kept secret from all the minor States except Holland, which was admitted to the league.⁶ The public articles, which were signed by Richelieu as well as the other envoys, were delivered to all the Powers, and in England were laid before Parliament. Alexander throughout had urged that the Courts should meet at intervals of three years, and thus keep a controlling hand

¹ This was strongly resisted by Alexander. F. O. Records, Continent, 48.

² Bathurst to Castlereagh, October 20, 1818. "Correspondence," xii. 55.

³ F. O. Records, Continent, 41.

⁴ Metternich, vol. iii. p. 187.

⁵ F. O. Records, Continent, 41.

⁶ Ibid., 43.

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ber.

upon the affairs of Europe. He was, however, firmly opposed by Castlereagh, for the British Government were well content that the treaty should rest upon the sanction given by Parliament.¹ It was therefore resolved that meetings of Sovereigns or Ministers should be arranged by the usual methods whenever necessary and not at stated intervals. Thus England, although bound to oppose revolution in France, was not pledged to do more, and could not be called upon by the Powers to interfere in the quarrels which might arise between their Courts and people. Many other questions were debated at the Congress. The abolition of the slave trade; the suppression of the Barbary pirates; the action of Sweden in not executing the 6th Article of the Treaty of Kiel, and the differences arising therefrom between the Courts of Copenhagen and Stockholm; and lastly, the general mediation between Spain and her colonies. These matters were not all settled satisfactorily. France was not now willing to abolish the slave trade in Africa, and feared that any promise to do so would be regarded by the French people merely as a bargain in return for the removal of the foreign troops.²

The Spanish Colonies occupied a great deal of the time of the Congress, and Castlereagh sums up the general opinion in November in the following words: "There seemed a general concurrence that force could under no circumstances be employed, and that Spain must as a preliminary measure confer upon her American provinces which had remained faithful the full extent of advantages which the mediators were to be authorised to propose to the provinces in revolt."³ Although the Powers all appeared to be in the most friendly accord, Castlereagh was suspicious, and wrote to Sir Henry Wellesley that he believed Russia and France, "partly from ignorance of the real question and partly from the foolish notion of cajoling and keeping well with Spain, encouraged her in her prejudices and follies, and consequently made her hate and withdraw from us." He thought also "that they taught her to expect that they would ultimately embark us

¹ F. O. Records, Continent, 46.

² *Ibid.*, 43.

³ Castlereagh to Bathurst. F. O. Records, Continent, 48.

in a general negotiation and finally manage our scruples so as to procure for Spain some species of coercive *appui*.”¹

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ber.

He was therefore greatly relieved that they did not embark at Aix-la-Chapelle on this complicated question, for as they had no time to settle it satisfactorily, it must have only ended in failure.

The Courts were, however, well pleased with their work. They had erected a bulwark against any possible revolutionary wave, and had bound themselves together morally, if not actually, to maintain the existing condition of affairs. In passing judgment on the wisdom of their action, it is necessary to place oneself as far as possible in the position of the Sovereigns and Ministers who played a part at the Congress. All these men had actually witnessed the great evils and calamities which attended the French Revolution and the career of Napoleon. They therefore associated popular rule with anarchy or military despotism, and did not yet understand how to construct such an ingenious machine as would give the people great power without danger. This alliance, nominally against French revolution, was in reality a tacit understanding to resist any reform in political institutions, and as such we can now smile at its futility. Still, considering the condition of affairs at the time, the action of the Courts was a wise one, and helped to maintain the peace of Europe for several years.

Castlereagh and the Government of Lord Liverpool have been severely judged because they did not sympathise with the cry of the people of Europe for liberty and also curtailed freedom at home. It is, however, evident that no country on the Continent was in a condition to be governed by the popular vote at this date, and furthermore, that the British Ministers never suggested to any Power at all what form its Government should take.

Perhaps the most important result of the meeting was the restoration of mutual confidence. Before the Congress there was a strong suspicion that the Emperor Alexander aimed at a close alliance with the House of Bourbon in France, Spain, and Italy. This would have certainly welded together

¹ Castlereagh to Sir Henry Wellesley, November 29, 1818. F. O. Records, Continent, 17.

1819.
January.

Austria, Prussia, and England. There was, however, no reason for such an idea, for the Emperor himself strongly and indignantly denied the report that he was preparing to separate himself from his old allies, and professed to have a great distrust of France during the whole proceedings.¹ This straightforward language removed all doubts and fully restored confidence.

At the opening of Parliament on January 21, 1819, the Prince Regent's speech was read by the Lord Chancellor. The successful result of the Congress at Aix-la-Chapelle was mentioned, and it was stated that an intimate union existed between the Powers who met there. The Marquis of Lansdowne, however, complained that no assurance had been given that the slave trade would be abolished. In the House of Commons, Mr. Macdonald, referring to the same subject, said: "It was well known that the Power which had opposed so desirable a consummation was France. France! a member of the holy alliance! France! under the restored rule of his most Christian Majesty! Thus it appeared that all the sacrifices which this country had made in favour of the Bourbon dynasty had been insufficient to obtain from the Court of Louis XVIII. a measure which was little more than one of decency—a measure which Spain herself, under Ferdinand himself, had been—he was going to say brought—but had been bought to consent to."² This speech is only interesting as showing how strongly members felt and spoke on the subject of slaves at this time.

The United States had waited patiently to see how Europe intended to act in the Spanish-American colonies. As soon as it was known that the Congress declined to interfere in the dispute, Mr. Adams repeated in a formal manner his wishes to Mr. Bagot, the English Minister at Washington.³

¹ Castlereagh to Bathurst, October 3, 1818. *F. O. Records, Continent*, 18. Alexander stated "He had heard France wished to break up the Quadruple and form a Quintuple Alliance, and protested strongly against such an idea. 'We must not part with what we had found to answer, and France was not yet in a state for such a connection.' He indignantly denied the reports that he was looking to connect himself with France and Spain and separate himself from his old allies. He denied that he kept up his army with the idea of making war, and said he had as much territory as he desired."

² Hansard, vol. xxxix. p. 50.

³ Mr. C. Bagot to Lord Castlereagh, January 4, 1819. "Correspondence," vol. xii. p. 99.

The American Government wished if possible to act with England and to recognise the independence of those colonies which had virtually thrown off the rule of the Mother Country. It was thought indeed at Washington that the evil to the commerce of the United States and Great Britain, due to the unsettled condition of affairs, would increase to an intolerable extent unless some step was taken, and this idea was encouraged by the revolted colonies themselves, who at this time had six or seven agents at Washington and were negotiating direct with the American Government. Mr. Adams' position was a difficult one. General Jackson had invaded Florida, and he was obliged to defend his action in order to ensure that the vote of the Southern and Western States should be given for Mr. Monroe. He had therefore used such strong language against Spain that he was afraid Europe would be offended, and he was very anxious to remain on good terms with England. Now, however, the United States having settled their differences with Spain, were anxious to move as much in accord with the other nations of the world as possible, and had thus at present not recognised the independence of the Spanish-American colonies.¹

¹ Mr. Bagot to Lord Castlereagh, April 7, 1819. "Correspondence," vol. xii. p. 121.

CHAPTER XXXIV

The General Election of 1818—Strike of weavers—Conflict with the military—Death of the Queen—Deaths of eminent politicians—Resumption of cash payments by the Bank—The Budget—Orator Hunt at Manchester—Sir Charles Wolseley arrested—Meeting at St. Peter's Field—The crowd charged by cavalry—Indignation in the country—Petitions to the Prince Regent—Parliament assembled—The six Acts of 1819—Plot to assassinate Ministers discovered—Arrest and execution of the ringleaders.

1818. THE General Election of 1818 took place in the middle of the summer, and as the Ministry was unpopular, the Whigs were hopeful. In Westminster a great deal of excitement and rioting occurred, and the Tory candidate, Captain Sir Murray Maxwell, was severely handled by the mob. In the end, Sir Samuel Romilly was returned at the head of the poll, and Sir Francis Burdett, the late member, was re-elected to the second seat. The City of London dismissed its Tory member, Sir William Curtis, who had represented it for twenty-eight years, and returned four Whigs; but the contest which attracted most attention was that between Lord Lowther, Colonel Lowther, and Mr. Brougham, for the representation of Westmoreland. The eloquent lawyer, however, found the fight hopeless, and retired after the fourth day.

The entire number of constituencies in the kingdom was 380, of which about half were nominative seats; nevertheless, only about one hundred contested elections occurred. In the end the Opposition gained, according to Tierney, twenty-three members.¹ It was soon weakened, however, by the death of Ponsonby, for Tierney, who succeeded him, had never propitiated the aristocratic section of the party, and was not a friend of Lord Grenville. It was not expected that the session would be a long one, for the King was in a very precarious condition, and, according to custom, it would be necessary to dissolve Parliament within six months of the accession of a new sovereign.

¹ "Grenville," vol. i. p. 4.

Meanwhile, the general distress in the country had 1818.
abated considerably, and signs of comparative prosperity
appeared. Consols had risen from 63 in January 1817 to
80 a year afterwards, while the price of wheat had fallen
from 103s. to 85s. a quarter. A greater demand for labour
arose, and consequently the working-men at once asked for
higher wages. In the cotton industry the spinners received
24s. a week, when working from 5 A.M. to 7 P.M., until 1816,
when the masters stated it was impossible to continue to pay
such wages, owing to the fall in prices. The men therefore
agreed to a reduction of 20 or 25 per cent. on the under-
standing that the old rate should be restored when better
times returned. The masters now argued, however, that as
the cotton-spinners had suffered less than other tradesmen,
they ought not to press at present for a change, and refused
to raise the wages. It was a most important question of
principle, and, as it has since proved, a most important epoch
in the history of the relationship between capital and labour.
The Trades Unions, which had hitherto not interfered be-
tween master and man, took up the question, and organised
a strike in the method with which we have unfortunately
since become too familiar. The unemployed received strike
pay out of funds collected from their fellow-workmen. Still
the masters refused to yield, and by June fifteen thousand
men had left the factories. For a time there was a complete
deadlock, and as the men were spending their funds and
losing hope, the chances of a violent outbreak rapidly in-
creased. Certain factories were "picketed," and the men
who were still willing to work did so only at their peril.
Crowds gathered in the streets of Manchester, and at length
troops were ordered to the town. On the 2nd of September
the inevitable collision occurred. The spinners, joined by
friends from Stockport, after parading the streets, marched
to a factory in which some soldiers and police had been
placed. Attempting to force their way in, they were met
with a fire of musketry which killed one man and wounded
ten others. A party of dragoons and infantry then appeared
and dispersed the crowd, which consisted of 30,000 people.
This affair ended both the disturbances and the strike,
so that Lord Sidmouth was enabled to state that tran-

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ber.

quillity was completely restored, partly by the failure of the pecuniary supplies of the men, and partly by the excellent military and police arrangements.¹ It cannot, however, be considered that the masters were victorious even with the aid of the troops, for still the men would not work until a higher wage was given. Nor can the Unions claim a victory, for the manufacturers steadily refused to discuss with them any suggestions for a fixed general rate of wages. A compromise was therefore arranged, and each working-man was paid according to his merits. Still, 1818 must be remembered as the year when the members of Trades Unions first combined against their masters, and endeavoured to bargain collectively for a rise in wages. From this date, therefore, the price of labour became an important factor in estimating the profits which might reasonably be expected to be derived from capital when invested in a manufacturing industry.

Nothing more disturbing than meetings in favour of reform occurred during the rest of the year. On the 17th of November the Queen died, but as the original Regency Act had been amended to provide for this, no special measure was rendered necessary. By the death of Sir Samuel Romilly, who destroyed himself on November 2nd in a fit of insanity caused by the death of his wife, the reformers lost one of their ablest workers. He was a man of singular ability, force of character, and political integrity, and was respected both as a barrister and in the House for his sincere unselfish devotion to duty and for the purity of his conduct. Lord Ellenborough, who had presided in the King's Bench since April 1802, also died in this year; and at the ripe age of eighty-five, Warren Hastings, whom he had so ably defended twenty years before, also fulfilled the fate of all. By a curious coincidence the originator of the trial, and the most bitter of the accusers and enemies of the Indian Pro-Consul, Sir Philip Francis, followed him to the grave a few months later.

Once more the commercial rocket was to ascend and the stick fall. The high range of prices caused shippers, speculators, and manufacturers to import large quantities of

¹ "Life of Lord Sidmouth," Pellew, vol. iii. p. 226.

cotton. Then at the end of the year prices fell, and a series of bankruptcies occurred.¹ The manufacturers could not pay the speculators, they could not reimburse the shippers, and they could not meet their debts to the growers in America. Several failures therefore occurred in Charleston and other southern ports of the United States. The whole line of agents had indeed fallen, just as does a row of toy soldiers when the end one is struck. Still the large value of the imports² gave a fictitious semblance of prosperity, and enabled Ministers to meet Parliament with cheerful faces on January 14th, when the Prince Regent stated in the speech from the throne that trade, commerce, and manufactures were flourishing. The first necessary business was to appoint a successor to the Queen as custodian of the King's person, and the Duke of York was chosen for this office. It was then proposed to hand over to His Royal Highness the sum of £10,000 a year, which Her Majesty had enjoyed as salary. This was fiercely contested, and Mr. Tierney moved as an amendment that the expenses attending the care of the King's person should be defrayed out of the privy purse. Mr. Peel, then Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, answered that the Duke had refused to accept money paid from the privy purse, and eventually the sum was voted by a majority of more than one hundred.

1819.
January.

It was now at length determined that the Bank of England should resume cash payments. Secret committees of twenty-one members, of whom the great majority were Ministerialists, were appointed in the two Houses. These reported that in order to facilitate the final and complete return to cash payments, and to check the flow of specie to France,³ a Bill should be passed stopping the payment in gold by the Bank of its notes issued previous to January 1, 1817, which it had voluntarily undertaken. Soon after detailed reports were presented by the two

¹ Tooke's "History of Prices," vol. ii. p. 77.

² They had now risen to £41,960,000, the highest figure they had ever touched.

³ The French were raising considerable loans in order to hasten the departure of the foreign garrisons, which was rendered possible by the arrangements entered into at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle. A large portion of the money was subscribed in England.

1819.

January.

committees showing that the assets of the Bank were £39,096,900, exclusive of the Government debt of £14,686,800, while its liabilities on January 30, 1819, were £33,894,580, thus showing a surplus of nearly £20,000,000. They then agreed upon a plan for the resumption of cash payments founded upon the principle stated by Mr. Ricardo in his work, "Proposals for an Economical and Secure Currency." This was that the Bank should be bound to exchange its notes not for coin but for gold ingots, and only in quantities above a certain amount, at a rate to be determined upon, and then gradually diminished from year to year until it should have descended to the mint price of £3, 17s. 10½d. per ounce. By this means it would be possible in time to exchange all bank-notes for cash whenever desired. The Government proposals were stated in the House of Commons in a very able speech by Peel,¹ who explained that he had been converted to an entirely different opinion from the one he had held in 1811, when he voted against Mr. Horner's resolution. He then moved that the £10,000,000 advanced by the Bank for the public services should be gradually repaid to it; that from February 1, 1820, the Bank should be obliged to give in exchange for its notes gold assayed and stamped in quantities of not less than sixty ounces, which was equal to £233, 12s. 6d. at the rate of 81s. per ounce; that from October 1, 1820, it should be obliged to pay gold for notes at the rate of 79s. 6d. per ounce; that after May 1, 1821, the rate should be 77s. 10½d. per ounce; and from May 1, 1822, the Bank should pay its notes on demand in the current coin of the realm. This carefully prepared and cautious sliding scale was, however, not adopted by the Bank, for on May 1, 1821, cash was given for its notes in any amount desired.

The Government were now seriously endeavouring to

¹ Robert Peel, eldest son of Sir Robert Peel the first baronet, was born in 1788, and educated at Harrow and Oxford, where he took a double first. In 1809 he entered Parliament, and in 1812 was made Secretary for Ireland. He was at this time a strong opponent of the Catholic claims. In 1817 he was returned for the University of Oxford, being chosen in preference to Canning. He was now appointed Chairman of the Bullion Committee, and it was expected that he would favour a continuance of the suspension, but in the Committee he was completely converted to the renewal of cash payments.

discover the causes of the national distress, and to remedy it wherever possible. A Select Committee was appointed to inquire into the national income and expenditure, and in due course presented an elaborate report. Acting upon this, the Chancellor of the Exchequer on June 3rd laid a series of resolutions on the table and sketched an outline of a financial scheme. It was discovered that since 1815 taxes had been reduced £18,000,000 a year, and it was pointed out that when the revenue of Great Britain and Ireland had been thrown into one in 1816, the interest on the debt and the amount of the sinking fund of Ireland exceeded the entire charge on that country by £900,000. This amount was therefore borne by the British taxpayers. The Budget was opened on June 9th by Mr. Vansittart, who announced new taxes on malt, tobacco, coffee, cocoa, tea, British spirits, pepper, and foreign wool.¹ The supplies voted amounted to £31,074,000, and the interest upon the funded debt and the sinking fund together amounted to about £45,000,000. Two loans of £12,000,000 each were raised, one by borrowing from and thus practically reducing the sinking fund, and the other by public contract.

1819.
June.

Legislation during this year was unimportant. A Bill to amend the Poor Laws was introduced by Mr. Sturges Bourne and passed, and a committee was appointed on the motion of Sir James Mackintosh to reconsider the law relating to capital punishment for felonies. Sir Francis Burdett for the eighteenth time brought forward his annual motion on the question of Parliamentary Reform, and was supported by Mr. George Lamb. He was, however, opposed by Lord John Russell, and in the division the votes were 58 ayes and 153 noes.

On May 3rd Grattan for the last time raised his voice on behalf of the Catholics. He moved for an inquest upon the laws which regulated the oaths which Catholics were compelled to take before they could enjoy their civil rights or be appointed to offices. The strong and bitter feeling against the Roman Catholics was evidently dying out, for the House listened with respect and defeated the motion by only two

¹ Vansittart raised the duty of foreign wool from 6s. 8d. to 56s. per cwt. A great outcry arose at once against the tax.

1819. votes. This result may have been influenced by the growing
May. unpopularity of the Government in the Commons, who only passed the Foreign Enlistment Bill by thirteen votes. When, however, Mr. Tierney moved for a committee on the state of the nation, the Tories closed their ranks and defeated him by a majority of two to one. The party, indeed, would not run the risk of a vote of censure being carried, but individual members could not be relied upon to support Ministers on all occasions.

In the country the reform movement was steadily gaining ground. On January 18th orator Hunt appeared at Manchester, followed by a large crowd with flags on which "Universal Suffrage," "No Corn Laws," "Rights of Man," and other terse expressions were inscribed. Having marched into the town a meeting was held at St. Peter's Field, where Hunt made a violent speech. A few days later he was roughly treated at the theatre by some officers of the 7th Hussars, who stated that he had hissed when the national anthem was sung. This afforded him an opportunity to write a letter of complaint to the Prince Regent, which he published. He then directed Bamford to take to the pit of the theatre on the next day ten sturdy working-men armed with stout cudgels, but the manager, fearing a disturbance, put off the performance and kept the building closed. The crowd which had assembled to see the fun were therefore obliged to be content to hear an address from Hunt and then to disperse quietly.

No movements of an alarming nature occurred among the working-classes during the winter and spring. The country was, however, glutted with imported goods which could find no markets, and many speculators became bankrupt in the early part of the year. Trade was thereby depressed, money became scarce and the labour market affected, while the prices of food still ruled high.¹

Work, indeed, became so scarce and wages so low that at the end of May the gingham-weavers of Carlisle and the neighbourhood met to consider the state of their industry. Other meetings were held near Leeds, at Glasgow, and at Ashton-under-Lyne, and the agitation gradually assumed a

¹ Tooke's "History of Prices," vol. ii. p. 94.

bolder and more political character. Still no breach of the public peace was committed, and the large bodies of military and police which were kept in readiness to act were not required. The meetings were, indeed, usually quietly conducted; the rate of wages was first discussed and then votes taken in favour of annual Parliaments, universal suffrage, and a general reduction of taxes. In some places, however, a great deal of violent and extravagant talking could be heard, and it became necessary to arrest Sir Charles Wolseley at his own house on July 19th. Two days later Hunt held a meeting at Smithfield, where Joseph Harrison, one of the most seditious orators, was arrested. The reformers now frequently met in the neighbourhood of Bury and at other places, and practised military drill. Their leaders, however, declared that they only intended to train the men to march in an orderly way in the processions, and that no arms of any kind were used.¹

Sir Charles Wolseley had been elected by Birmingham, and it was thought that Hunt might be honoured similarly by Manchester. The inhabitants of that town were therefore invited to meet on August 9th near St. Peter's Church for the purpose of choosing a representative. The meeting was proclaimed by the magistrates illegal and the people warned not to attend. The reformers therefore asked the borough council and constables to call a meeting, and when this was refused announced that the original assembly would take place on the 16th of August. At an early hour on the appointed day 3000 men of Middleton, under the command of Bamford, started to march with banners, caps of liberty, and branches of laurel, "as a token of amity and peace," to the meeting-place. On the road the procession was swollen by the addition of many other bands of men, and as it entered Manchester it was discovered that the self-taught Radical physician, Dr. Healey, had already arrived with another party which had for its banner a black flag inscribed with the text "Equal representation or death" in large white letters. The magistrates after a prolonged sitting decided not to stop the meeting, but prepared for possible disturb-

¹ Bamford, "Life of a Radical," vol. i. p. 180.

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August.

ances. Two hundred special constables were sworn in, and a military force held in readiness, consisting of six troops of Hussars, a battery of Horse Artillery, a regiment of infantry, and the Cheshire and Manchester Yeomanry. The Volunteers were under the control of the magistrates, while the rest of the troops were commanded by Colonel L'Estrange. The entire extent of St. Peter's Fields being only between two and three acres, the whole space was soon occupied by the dense throng of people.

About half-an-hour after the arrival of the processions Hunt, preceded by a band and banners, arrived on the scene, and was welcomed with a mighty shout from the 80,000 persons assembled. The party at once mounted the hustings, which consisted of some waggons, and Hunt was voted to the chair. He had scarcely begun his speech, however, when the whole crowd was seen to be greatly agitated, and attempting to retreat from a troop of charging soldiers. At the trial at York, Mr. Hutton, the chairman of the Bench of Magistrates, stated that it was decided to arrest the leaders of the reformers; and when Nadin, the chief constable, was ordered to do so, he at once said it would be impossible without military aid. Colonel L'Estrange and the colonel of the Manchester Yeomanry were therefore instructed to come at once to a house near the field, where the magistrates had assembled. The Yeomanry arrived first and attempted to penetrate the dense crowd, but could not do so, and soon becoming separated, were absolutely blocked among the people, who treated them to some strong language. Colonel L'Estrange then appeared on the scene and asked Mr. Hutton for instructions. At this stage the magistrates seem to have become panic-stricken, and the soldiers were ordered to "disperse the crowd." On this the command "forward" was given, and the cavalry dashed among the people. The stampede was instantaneous, and people, constables, and Yeomanry were carried before it. Fortunately the Hussars for the most part were moderate with the use of their sabres, and confined themselves to striking with the flat edge, or the result would have been most terrible. As it was, five or six lives were lost and

thirty or forty people wounded.¹ A great outcry arose all over the country against the perpetrators of the "Manchester massacre," and all people were united in the opinion that the usual methods of maintaining order would have been sufficient if properly applied. It was felt that the magistrates had exceeded their duty, and the Government were freely blamed. Hunt and a few friends were arrested and remanded on a charge of high treason. This was afterwards withdrawn, and the agitators informed that they would only be detained until they could find bail, and eventually would be tried for the misdemeanour of having conspired to alter the law by force.

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Septem-
ber.

The Home Secretary decided to support the magistrates, and explained in Parliament that one of them had been to London and given him a detailed account of the occurrence, and that the law officers of the Government had been satisfied that their conduct was completely justified by the necessity of the case.² Still Lord Eldon wrote to his brother, Sir William Scott, that although the Government defended the magistrates, they were generally blamed. He thought that if the meeting were only an unlawful assembly, the task of justifying the authorities would be difficult, but if an overt act of treason had been committed they acted correctly.³

Public opinion in the country was all against the officials, and the opportunity to make political capital was seized at once by the reformers. Sir Francis Burdett in a letter to the electors of Westminster denounced the proceedings in most vigorous terms, and addresses condemning the magistrates and the Government poured in to the Prince Regent from all parts of the country. The Common Council of the City of London joined in the movement,⁴ as did West-

¹ Several pistols were fired by the mob, but without effect. "While the cavalry was forming a most remarkable defiance of them was acted by the reforming part of the mob." Letter from Mr. Hay to Lord Sidmouth. Hansard, vol. xli. p. 260.

² Hansard, "Parliamentary Debates," vol. xii. p. 24.

³ "Life of Lord Eldon," vol. ii. p. 328.

⁴ The Common Council by 71 to 45 votes affirmed the legality of the Manchester meeting, and expressed strong indignation at the action of the magistrates, which they regarded as "highly disgraceful to the character of Englishmen, and a daring violation of the British constitution." *Annual Register*, 1819, Hist. p. 110.

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ber.

minster, York,¹ Bristol, Norwich, Liverpool, Nottingham, and other towns. Large county meetings were held for the purpose of expressing indignation, and strong feelings were aroused on all sides. Still many took an extreme view against the reformers and, fearing for the safety of their property, supported the Government. Again, a large class of steady tradesmen were not in favour of forcing on reform, and were lenient in their judgment even if they did not approve of the extreme methods adopted to maintain order. Among the working-classes the greatest excitement was aroused. Large meetings were held all over the manufacturing districts, and it became evident that a more dangerous spirit had been awakened in the public mind. No attempt to interfere with these meetings was made, although at Paisley and Glasgow the military were kept in readiness.

The Government were now thoroughly alarmed, and determined to strengthen the law against sedition.² The safety-valve of public oratory was to be screwed down tight, the reformer was to be labelled a traitor, and the Radical was to be considered a seditious person.³ It was decided to assemble Parliament as soon as possible, and the date was fixed after several Cabinet meetings for November 23rd. The session was opened by the Prince Regent in person. Amendments to the Address were moved by the Opposition in both Houses, and long debates ensued, but the Government majorities continued to be large. Papers relating to the internal state of the country were then presented to Parliament. The general tenor of the evidence contained in them can be summed up by quoting one sentence from the first document of the series, which is a letter from five magistrates of Lancashire, and is addressed to Lord Sidmouth. "We feel a difficulty in stating to your lordship any specific facts upon which legal responsibility will attach to any particular individuals at present; but upon the general views of the subject we cannot have a doubt that some alarming insurrection is in contemplation." All the

¹ Lord Fitzwilliam, the Lord-Lieutenant of the West Riding, attended the meeting at York, and was accordingly dismissed from his office.

² "Life of Lord Sidmouth," vol. iii. p. 228. Letter of Lord Ridesdale.

³ "Life of Lord Eldon," vol. ii. p. 337.

witnesses of the drilling agreed that no arms were used, and that the evolutions were carried out only that the crowd might march in order to the meeting at Manchester. One informer, however, stated that "he met with three men who had all pikes in their hands," and a blacksmith named Miller deposed that he had made some pikes, while another named Knowles admitted that "he had made many a score." It appears that although these weapons were carried in some of the processions, they were not produced at the meetings. The whole of the report indeed, as it reads, now gives the impression that although a few rioters were desperate characters, the great majority of them were merely agitating for reforms which they hoped and imagined would at once improve their condition. There is no evidence, indeed, to lead one to believe that the regular police would not have been able to deal with the crowds without the aid of troops, or that the Manchester meeting would have caused trouble if it had not been interrupted.

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ber.

The magistrates had undoubtedly made a serious error at Manchester, and the whole country was indignant. Not only had lives been lost, but a great safeguard of liberty attacked. If meetings were to be suppressed by force, one of the most important privileges of the people was taken from them. The Government therefore were compelled to justify their officials or beg the pardon of the people, and they chose the former alternative. We can therefore be sure that all the evidence which could be collected was included in the report presented to Parliament, and that no attempt was made to reassure the fearful, for if real danger existed then strong measures were justifiable. Next, the Prince Regent congratulated the magistrates on their success in maintaining order, and thus took the foolish and unconstitutional step of expressing a strong opinion on a very sore subject. Then, by an ingenious quibbling with definitions of high treason, the Manchester meeting was actually declared to be illegal. Lord Redesdale, a late Chancellor of Ireland, wrote: "Every meeting for Radical reform was not merely a seditious attempt to undermine the existing constitution and Government by bringing it into hatred and contempt, but it was an overt act of treasonable conspiracy against that

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ber.

constitution of Government, including the King at its head and bound by his Coronation oath to maintain it." Lord Eldon gave a similar opinion.¹ Once more an unhappy precedent was followed. Just as Lord Loughborough had influenced the King against granting any measure of Catholic relief by persuading him he was bound by his Coronation Oath to support the laws as they then existed, so now Lord Redesdale argued that any meeting held in support of a reform of any law was treasonable. Both arguments are absurd, for they imply that any person who works to amend the law commits high treason, and any king who sanctions a new law breaks his Coronation Oath.

Ministers, however, did not recognise that the statement was not true, and determined to bring in at once a bold comprehensive measure. Since magistrates had to be supported when they suppressed a legally appointed and orderly assembly, they decided to go a step further, and prohibit such meetings altogether. It was, however, apparent that new legislation would be required. "The laws are not strong enough for the times, but they must be made so, if it were meant to afford the country a reasonable hope of permanent tranquillity," wrote Lord Sidmouth.² In this opinion he was supported by the Government and also by the less extreme Liberals, Lord Grenville and his friends, who had apparently forgotten the result of the measures they helped Pitt to pass. The new legislation was therefore hurried on, and four Bills were introduced in the Lords on November 29th, three by Lord Sidmouth and one by the Lord Chancellor. The first stopped all drilling and kindred exercises, and was entitled, "An Act to prevent the training of persons to the use of Arms and to the Practice of Military Evolutions and Exercises"; the second was "An Act for the more effectual Prevention and Punishment of Blasphemous and Seditious Libels"; and the third was "An Act to authorise Justices of the Peace in certain disturbed Counties to seize and detain Arms collected and kept for Purposes dangerous to the Public Peace," to continue in force until March 25, 1822. The first and third of these

¹ "Life of Eldon," ii. 348; "Life of Liverpool," ii. 409.

² Sidmouth "Pellew," iii. 249.

Acts were justifiable. On the same day the Lord Chancellor introduced his Bill, entitled, "An Act to prevent Delay in the Administration of Justice in cases of Misdemeanour," which undoubtedly effected a very necessary reform. The two chief Acts, however, were, "An Act to subject certain Publications to the Duties of Stamps upon Newspapers, and to make other Regulations for restraining the Abuses arising from the Publication of Blasphemous and Seditious Libels," introduced by Lord Castlereagh on December 3rd, and "An Act for more effectually preventing Seditious Meetings and Assemblies; to continue in force until the end of the session of Parliament next after five years from the passing of the Act," introduced by Lord Sidmouth on October 17th.

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ber.

The object of the stamp duty on small pamphlets was to discourage the publication of the cheaper broadsheets such as the *Political Register*, which evaded the definition of a newspaper and so the usual tax.

The Seditious Libels Act was divided into two parts. When a bookseller had been convicted of selling a libellous book the whole work could be seized, and if a second offence was committed the punishment of imprisonment or banishment could be imposed. The Opposition pointed out that the offence of publishing a libel was undefined and uncertain, and a petition against the Bill was presented by the booksellers of London. Still the measure became a law, in name if not in reality, for it was never enforced, and ten years afterwards was repealed.

The chief infringement of the liberty of the people was contained in the law restricting the right of public meetings to those called by a lord-lieutenant, a sheriff, or five magistrates in the counties; or a mayor or magistrates in the corporate towns, which, it must be remembered, did not include Manchester, Birmingham, Sheffield, Wolverhampton, and other large places. The measure was strongly opposed in Parliament and in the Press,¹ but was carried and became law for five years.

These severe measures had the effect of restoring order

¹ The *Times* thought the measure would be useless, but the *Courier* supported the Government.

1820.
February.

outwardly, but if the crater of the social volcano were blocked, the pent-up fires existed within. Soon after a plot was discovered of the usual parts and magnitude. The Ministers were to be assassinated, the Bank, Mansion House and Tower seized, and a provisional Government established. Information was given by a man named Edwards, a small shopkeeper at Eton, who was at once put on the pay roll of the Home Office as an informer. The leader of the plotters, Thistlewood, was a fanatic of the desperate kind, who had been imprisoned for a year for sending a challenge to Lord Sidmouth, and was therefore thirsting for his blood. Gathering about him a few other desperadoes, he at first arranged to kill all the Ministers in the autumn of 1819, and then postponed the plan until they reassembled after the Christmas holidays. Edwards, who was informing the conspirators and the Ministers of each other's whereabouts and arrangements, told Thistlewood that there was to be a Cabinet dinner at Lord Harrowby's on February 20th. It was therefore settled to surprise the house, murder the Ministers, and bring away the heads of Lords Sidmouth and Castlereagh in sacks. Nothing further was arranged, and it was hoped that the mob would then rise and capture the Tower, with what particular object it is impossible to say. The Ministers who already had invented legislation to save their faces now feared they might lose their heads, and so ate their dinners at their own homes. Afterwards they met at Lord Liverpool's, where they awaited anxiously news from the police and military. Meanwhile, guided by the information of Edwards and another spy named Hidon, the police repaired to a stable in Cato Street, near the Edgware Road. The would-be assassins were arming themselves in a loft above, and, with singular lack of tactics, the police mounted the ladder leading to it and entered the room. Police-Constable Smithers, who led the way, was promptly stabbed by Thistlewood, who then blew out the light and escaped in the darkness. A few shots were fired at random, and some of the conspirators escaped before soldiers arrived on the scene, when the remainder of the party—some nine armed men—were arrested. A reward of £1000 was immediately offered for the apprehension of

Thistlewood, and he was captured before the next morning. On the 20th of April he was condemned to death, and on May 1st he and his four principal accomplices met their just doom. 1820.
February.

The informer Edwards was apparently heavily rewarded, as he lived in comfort afterwards. His case was, however, discussed in Parliament by Alderman Wood, who charged him with inventing the most atrocious plots for the destruction of Ministers and Parliament, and with direct attempts to seduce needy men to join in these schemes. To this charge the Government replied that it was necessary to employ such men in moments of emergency, and refused to take any action against him.

So ended the most unsatisfactory period of English history in the nineteenth century. Distress, caused by the failure of harvests and the general exhaustion of the world after the war, was intensified by the currency laws. Agitation caused by the distress was treated by repressive legislation. Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, suppression of the right of public meeting and curtailment of the liberty of writers were the only means which occurred to the Government to restore order from the chaos into which the whole country had fallen.

CHAPTER XXXV

Death of George III.—Illness of the new King—His marriage and separation from Queen Caroline—Her life abroad—She returns to England—Failure of her negotiation with the Government—The Bill of Pains and Penalties—Evidence of the Italian witnesses—The Press and the people sympathise with the Queen—Ministers drop the measure—Joy in the country—Legislation of 1820 and 1821—A Reform Bill introduced—The King visits Hanover and Ireland—Weakness of the Government—Economies instituted—Death of Grattan—Plunket's Catholic Bills—Rioting and famine in Ireland—Unpopularity of Lord Wellesley.

1820.
January
29th.

GEORGE III. was dead. At length the shell from which real life had departed years ago was to be permitted to crumble into dust. The father who had lived a virtuous, honourable private life only to give birth to many unworthy sons, the Sovereign who was so jealous of what he considered the privileges of the Mother Country that he lost one of her greatest colonies, the monarch who allowed Ireland to rebel and lost his most valued Minister sooner than depart a hair's-breadth from what he was advised was his duty, the mind which contained the greatest wisdom and folly, the man who meant better and did worse than any who ever occupied the throne of Great Britain was no more.

At the time it seemed as if the country would have to mourn for two monarchs, for the new King was seriously ill. The course of the malady, however, took a favourable turn, and George IV. took the oaths and was proclaimed King on January 30th. According to custom the two Houses of Parliament met at once and then adjourned until after the Royal funeral, which took place on the 16th of February. Ministers resigned and were reappointed, but had scarce concluded formalities when they were startled by a peremptory request from the King to procure him a divorce. This they as peremptorily refused to do, and he had to be content with a promise that if the Queen, who had for many years resided abroad, returned and gave any trouble, they would acquiesce in his wishes.¹ The element of sentiment has to be subor-

¹ "Life of Lord Chancellor Eldon," vol. ii. p. 367.

minated in many Royal marriages, but perhaps in none has 1795. a union proved so unfortunate as that which was forced upon the Prince of Wales in 1795. Until this date he had lavished his family instincts upon Mrs. Fitzherbert, to whom he was undoubtedly genuinely attached. This illicit connection, however, led him into such great extravagances that it required a special grant from Parliament to settle his debts. He then, with the idea presumably of pleasing his father and satisfying the country, agreed to marry any one who was chosen for him. The unfortunate lady who was destined to attain to so high a position and lead such a miserable life was the Princess Caroline of Brunswick. As soon as the choice was made Lord Malmesbury was ordered to repair to Brunswick and ask for her hand in marriage with the Prince of Wales.¹ She was a cheerful, pleasant, good-humoured young lady, who had been very severely brought up, and in common with most of the German Princesses had learnt English in hopes of becoming Princess of Wales.

The Prince received her with frigid courtesy, asked a few questions about her voyage, and then retired as soon as decency permitted and told the Queen he did not like his prospective bride. Caroline on her part was very disappointed, for he was much fatter and less pleasing to look upon than the Court portrait-painter had led her to expect. Three days after they were married, and neither troubled to simulate any feeling. Nevertheless, her heart was empty, and she craved for the sympathy and affection which he had already poured from his and dissipated upon another. Still, within the year a Princess was born at Carlton House, who was christened Charlotte Carolina Augusta, and it was hoped that this fruit of the union would bind together the ill-assorted couple. It appeared to have the opposite effect, for within three months the parents had parted. He returned to Mrs. Fitzherbert, while she retired with her daughter to the village of Charlton, near Blackheath.

The Prince was certainly no Antoninus Pius, nor did the Princess emulate Faustina, but her conduct was now so indiscreet that it aroused suspicion, and at length without any warning her servants were called before the House of

¹ "Diary of Lord Malmesbury," vol. iii. p. 147.

1795. Lords and closely examined. Mr. Perceval acted as her adviser at this time, and foolishly collected and printed all the documents connected with the "delicate investigation," as it was called, with the idea of damaging the Prince and his friends. After a copy of the book had been stolen from his desk, however, it occurred to him that the publication of the evidence might harm still more the unfortunate Princess, who had been so cruelly charged. He therefore decided to suppress the work, and bought the tongues of those who knew its contents for the large sum of £10,000. In 1814 the Princess went abroad in search of sunshine and freedom, and took up her residence in Italy. Still she was constantly watched, and on the advice of Sir John Leach, first legal adviser to the Prince, a Commission was sent to sneak out evidence from her domestics. In the meantime the Princess Charlotte grew into a graceful and dignified girl and won the affection of all who came in contact with her. Without a mother's care, and with only such rough guidance as her father could give, she nevertheless early showed an earnest disposition to observe those domestic virtues which had always ruled the life of her grandfather, but possessed so little attraction for her parents. It was therefore a great shock to the Royal Family and a cause of genuine grief to the nation when, after a year of married happiness, she died in childbirth on November 6, 1817. Her death had also a political significance, for she was heir-presumptive to the throne. As related above, her royal uncles the Dukes of Clarence, Kent, and Cambridge, however, suddenly awoke to their responsibilities, and gallantly rushing into the breach, saved the House of Hanover from extinction and the country the possibility of a disputed succession.

As the time approached when it was inevitable that Caroline should become Queen, instructions were sent to the ambassadors abroad that they were not to afford her any official recognition, or to countenance her presence at any foreign Court. This unwarrantable and unprecedented insult was now added to, for her name was omitted from the Liturgy when that of her husband was inserted as King.

It was this last step which aroused the indignation of

the Press¹ and people, who, knowing full well the character of the King, did not attach much importance to his opinion of the Queen. Caroline herself indignantly wrote to Lord Liverpool that she was coming to England immediately to demand her rights. She arrived on June 6th, and was welcomed with enthusiastic applause by an immense multitude. Her journey from Greenwich to London, indeed, partook of the character of a triumphal procession between ranks of shouting men and women. She travelled in an open landau, with Alderman Wood sitting by her side and Lady Ann Hamilton and another woman opposite.² The prompt return of the Queen both confounded the Ministers and aroused a great feeling in her favour in the country, for it was obvious to all that the closure of the Courts of Europe forced her to take this step or tacitly admit herself guilty.

1820.
June.

On the same day the King went in state to the House of Lords to give his assent to several Bills, and afterwards commended to their Lordships an inquiry into the conduct of the Queen. Lord Liverpool then laid the evidence on the table, while Lord Castlereagh read the King's message to the Commons. On the next day Mr. Brougham produced and delivered a message from the Queen, in which she declared that she had been obliged to return to defend her character, and demanded a public inquiry instead of the secret investigation before a select committee which was proposed by Ministers.³

Mr. Brougham acted as Attorney for the Queen, and Mr. Denman officiated as her Solicitor, while the Duke of Wellington and Lord Castlereagh represented the King. After the secret Committee of Inquiry had been appointed an attempt was made to compromise the matter, and the agents of the royal couple endeavoured to come to terms. The Queen stated she was willing to live abroad if the King would stop all proceedings against her, if her name were inserted in the Liturgy, and if she were received at foreign

¹ The *Times* strongly supported the Queen, and praised Canning for withdrawing from the Ministry. The *Political Register* printed a letter written by Cobbett and signed Caroline R. The *Morning Post* advised patience, but the *Courier* supported the Ministry.

² "Greville Memoirs," vol. i. p. 24.

³ Hansard, New Series, vol. ii.

1820.
June.

Courts. The King replied that he would notify one monarch that she was Queen of England, and then leave it to him to determine whether she should be received. This conceded nothing, as it was already obvious that she was legally Queen, and Caroline refused his offer. It was now apparent that the inquiry would have to proceed, but it was also clear that to the Commons the business was a very distasteful one. Indeed, on the motion of Mr. Wilberforce,¹ a party of well-meaning gentlemen waited upon the Queen and asked her to withdraw the demand that her name should appear in the Liturgy. This was courteously refused, and the deputation merely earned the groans of the crowds assembled about her house. The Queen, indeed, was now regarded as a martyr to whom justice was refused by a tyrant, and her popularity rose as that of the King and his Ministers waned. Lord Castlereagh¹ in the Commons, therefore, on June 26th adjourned the debate on the inquiry and awaited the action of the Lords. The country was not kept long in suspense, for the secret committee of the Lords reported on July 4th that the evidence was such as to require for "the dignity of the Crown and the moral feeling and honour of the country" a "solemn inquiry," which might be best effected in the course of a legislative proceeding. The fashionable world, which had looked on with interested amusement, now inclined to the side of the King, but most of the people were strongly in favour of the Queen, and there were even symptoms among the Guards which rendered it doubtful how far they might be relied upon to suppress any disturbance which might be caused by the dispute.²

The Ministers were, however, too deeply engaged to draw back, and Lord Liverpool proposed the Bill of Pains and Penalties, entitled: "An Act to deprive her Majesty Queen Caroline Amelia Elizabeth of the title, prerogatives, rights, privileges, and exemption of Queen Consort of this realm, and to dissolve the marriage between his Majesty and the

¹ Hansard, 1820, vol. i. p. 1228. "Nearly 520 members voted in the House." "Greville Memoirs," vol. i. p. 26.

² "The Guards in their undress trousers and foraging-caps came at night to where they supposed the Queen was or her family and friends, and they said: 'Never mind; it may be going badly, but, better or worse, we are all with you.'"—"Life and Times of Brougham," vol. ii. p.



1840. 1841. 1842.

Walter L. G. 1841

Queen Caroline

said Caroline Amelia Elizabeth."¹ The Bill, which charged the Queen with improper and degrading conduct generally, and of an adulterous connection with a menial named Bartholomew Bergami, was now read a first time.

1820.
Septem-
ber.

On the next day Caroline protested to the House of Lords and prayed to be heard by counsel. This was granted, with the proviso that counsel should devote themselves to the question of the mode of procedure under the Bill. Mr. Brougham, whose speech was "uncommonly clever, very insolent, and parts of it very eloquent,"² therefore demanded that the whole business should be, if not at once dropped, continued without delay to a final issue.

The second reading was fixed for August 17th, and from that day until September 8th the House of Lords heard the testimony of witnesses. Silly and disgusting stories of the Queen's behaviour were told by Italian domestics subpoenaed by the Crown, and these were scattered broadcast throughout the land by the newspapers. In the nature of things it was by no means easy to obtain evidence of actual adultery. Lieutenant Howman testified that Bergami habitually slept on board ship under the same awning as the Queen, and this was sufficient to convince many that she was a guilty woman,³ although it was pointed out that he acted merely in the capacity of a sentinel. The Ministers on the whole carried out their unpleasant duty with a fair show of dignity. Lord Liverpool was "a model of fairness, impartiality, and candour," Lord Eldon considered he was only doing his duty conscientiously,⁴ and Lords Sidmouth⁵ and Castlereagh accepted the hoots of the mob with cynical indifference. Peel refused a post in the Cabinet in order that he might have a free hand in the debates, and Canning retired, but there is evidence to show that he did so because he found it impossible to work with Castlereagh, and not on account of the Divorce Bill.⁶

¹ Hansard, vol. ii. p. 168.

² "Greville Memoirs," vol. i. p. 28.

³ The Duke of Portland was convinced by this, but still refused to support the Bill on grounds of expediency. "Greville Memoirs," vol. i. p. 36.

⁴ "Life of Lord Eldon," vol. ii. p. 386 *et seq.*

⁵ "Life of Lord Sidmouth," vol. iii. p. 330.

⁶ Stapleton. "Some Official Correspondence of George Canning," vol. i. p. 12.

1820.
Novem-
ber.

As the trial proceeded the Queen was vociferously cheered on her way to and from the House of Lords, while the King remained discreetly indoors, and the Italian witnesses were guarded like a gang of thieves. Within the Chamber professional orators sharpened their wits and argued, while the subject of it all sat on a crimson chair of state three feet from the bar. The defence daily gained ground; the absence of evidence, the despicable character of the Italian witnesses, and the great success of Brougham's cross-examination all contributed to the discomfort of the prosecution. On November 2nd the arguments of counsel were concluded, and the Lords proceeded to discuss the second reading of the Bill of Pains and Penalties. The division was taken on the 6th, when the majority in favour was only twenty-eight in a house of 218; and when this on the third reading fell to nine, Ministers at once determined not to proceed further with the measure.

The whole country was overcome with joy. The stakes were very great; the honour of a woman and a queen was in the balance, but there was also the question whether the King should ride over the laws of the country, whether he should influence the usual course of justice, and whether the Government should persist in a measure against the clearly expressed wishes of the people. So had this undignified and disgraceful proceeding become magnified into a great question of constitutional liberty.

In the first Parliament of George IV. the balance of parties was not altered to any appreciable extent, and the harshest measures were still taken to quell the effects of the spirit of unrest.¹ The session of 1820 will, however, always be memorable as the one when the first definite proposal was made to institute National Education. The Committee, which had been sitting since 1816 collecting evidence and statistics, had discovered that only one-seventeenth of the people were given any kind of education. Mr. Brougham, who had proposed a scheme to institute popular schools in London, now suggested a plan which would embrace all the people of England and

¹ In 1819 the imports decreased from £35,845,340 to £29,681,640, and the exports from £45,180,150 to £34,252,251. Capitalists could find no use for their money, landlords no tenants, and workmen no employers.

Wales. Unfortunately he introduced an element of discord into his Bill by suggesting that all schoolmasters should be communicant members of the Church of England. The dissenters had, however, established many Sunday Schools, and would have resisted the measure violently, for although British parents are willing to leave secular instruction in the hands of those who make a profession of teaching, they refuse to allow their children to learn the tenets of any sect but their own. The project was therefore dropped.

1820.
Novem-
ber.

Useful and necessary reforms were now made in the criminal law of the land, and these must be credited largely to Sir James Mackintosh. No longer was a man liable to be hanged for sending threatening letters, for wounding cattle, or for stealing five shillings from a shop. It is indeed almost incredible that a person ninety years of age now, might have had his career cut short in early boyhood for some such comparatively trivial offence.

The agricultural distress continued, and the farmers clamoured for a measure which would cause an artificial scarcity of food. Ministers were, however, wise enough not to run the risk of arousing discontent in the towns, for it is certain that the manufacturers would have fiercely resented any addition to the cost of living. In the House of Commons the landed interest and the habitual opponents of the Government, nevertheless, did manage to snatch a favourable division on the proposal to establish a Committee of Inquiry. Ministers were obliged to bow to the mandate of the House, but were careful to limit the functions of the Committee, and only permitted it to discover if the averages of the prices of corn were correctly determined.

Many doctors and quacks invented remedies for the trouble, and each loudly proclaimed the virtues of his own nostrum. Cobbett and the Radicals professed to believe that the vote would charm away all the causes of distress and discontent, and the subject of reform was discussed three times before the senators left Westminster. The people were, indeed, no longer contented to be passive spectators of the British dramas and farces enacted in their name, and insisted that at least they should have a voice in choosing the actors. Lords Liverpool, Eldon, Castlereagh, and Sidmouth

1820.
Novem-
ber.

were too busy to hear the clamouring noise, and the people, for their part, forgot the men who had brought them victorious from the twenty years' war, and only remembered the inventors of most drastic laws against liberty. Long lists of names in favour of reform flowed into Parliament, and on April 17th Mr. Lambton asked for a committee to be formed to deal with the subject. Forty-three members followed him into the lobby, and fifty-five chose the other door. This was not a victory, but decidedly not a disastrous defeat, and Lord John Russell on May 9th once more sounded the demand. The empty House merely echoed him, and the ministerial bench was void throughout until the bell sounded, when the Government strolled calmly in and said No. How could the votes of people whose names were only crosses improve the working of the engine of State? Who was going to leap into the dark chasm of the unknown? asked the Tories. Still, heaps of sand and stone walls could not even make crosses, and the people of large towns could wield cudgels if they were not adroit fencers with pens. Grampound was therefore removed from the list of places which sent knights to Westminster, and the wisdom of Leeds, Birmingham, Manchester, and other important towns was represented in the House of Commons.

It now appeared that the army which stabbed with quills and fired ink was far more dangerous and troublesome than the crowds who shouted for reform. A scurrilous print, with the taking title, *John Bull*, was started by the witty Theodore Hook, famous more as a practical joker than as a preacher of Imperialism. This attacked the Queen with most indecent frivolity, and consequently found favour with her enemies. The challenge was taken up, and the King was next caricatured in as violent a manner. Ministers were also treated to strong doses of abuse, and the Radical press revelled in the new method of warfare. Forty peers and bishops, with many other Tories and clergymen, were so shocked at this that they banded themselves into a society with the deep-sounding name the Constitutional Association, and made appeals for subscriptions to all those who loved piety, peace, and order. The aim of the Society was most plausible and worthy, but the members were carried too far by their

zeal, and even attempted to influence the course of justice. In the prosecutions which they instituted, the jurymen were often prejudiced against the defendants, and it became necessary for the judges to refuse to permit any one to serve until he had sworn on oath he was not a member of the Association. At length the methods of these self-appointed censors of the morals of the press and public were exposed by Mr. Brougham in the House of Commons, and their power then rapidly waned. Still the movement indirectly had a good effect, and the general tone of writers improved.

1820.
Novem-
ber.

George IV. had much better manners than his father, and all who knew him were charmed by his graceful ways, even if they felt neither admiration nor respect for his character. He did not look like a king, but he behaved as such at public ceremonies, and bore the panoply of royalty with much dignity. He was also a great authority on pageants, and took the keenest interest in arranging the details of the Coronation ceremony, which took place on July 19, 1821, surrounded by those historic emblems which so vividly recall the antiquity, nobleness, and power of the Crown of England.

There was some fear that a disturbance might be caused by the friends of the Queen, but nothing occurred to mar the splendour and success of the function.¹ Little remains to be told of the unfortunate Caroline. After the Bill against her was stopped she was offered a house and money from the Government. This she refused, and commended herself, through the medium of Mr. Denman, to the justice of the House of Commons. An annuity of £50,000 was then voted and some attempts made to obtain for her the honour of coronation with the King. This was, however, firmly refused, and when she presented herself at Westminster Abbey on the day of the Coronation she was ignominiously turned back from the door. This was her last appearance in public. On August 2nd it was announced that she was seriously ill, and five days later she died, in her 53rd year.

Later in the year the King visited Ireland and Hanover, where he created favourable impressions. The monarch was

¹ Lord Eldon wrote: "The business is over in a way nobody could have hoped." "Life of Lord Eldon," vol. ii. p. 427.

1821. indeed becoming a little less unpopular, but his Ministers were
July. losing strength and were not working in harmony either with the King or among themselves. Lord Sidmouth wished to retire, Lord Eldon was growing infirm, while Lord Liverpool was feeling the effects of his long spell of office. The country was dissatisfied with them all, for the agricultural distress was still great, and the return to cash payments by the Bank had so lowered prices, that although business was at length based on a firm foundation, people did not have so much money to spend, and thus were not apparently so prosperous, while all contracts for merchandise had to be altered to suit the new conditions.

The Tory party was becoming discredited, but it did not seem possible for the Whigs to secure a majority or to form a workable Cabinet. The only way out of the difficulty, therefore, was to invite some of the Grenville party to form a coalition Ministry. They were, however, friendly to the Catholic claims, while the whole of the Cabinet except Castlereagh, who had now succeeded his father as Lord Londonderry, were opposed to them. Lord Grenville himself had retired from public life, but it was still possible to propitiate his party by raising the Marquis of Buckingham a step in the peerage and by giving two of the Wynns minor appointments. By this means the Government gained a few votes and a great deal of prestige, while the chance of the Whigs succeeding to office became very remote. Of far greater importance was the appointment of Mr. Peel to the Home Office in the place of Lord Sidmouth. The latter embraced the principles of Continental Courts and merely sought to suppress sedition by force; the former endeavoured to discover and remove the causes of discontent, and, as he repeatedly proved in later life, did not continue to oppose measures when the voice of the country was unmistakably raised on their behalf.

It was impossible at present to include Canning in the Cabinet. He had refused to act against the Queen, and had indeed been one of her earliest advisers. During the prosecution he was abroad, and when he returned at once resigned his office at the Board of Control. By this he was supposed to have incurred the displeasure of the King, but there is

little doubt he would never, under any circumstances, have acted in perfect harmony with Castlereagh. 1822.

Parliament met on February 5, 1822, and was informed that economy would be practised in framing the estimates.¹ It was indeed time that some means were taken to lessen the burdens and the charge of the National Debt, which hung over the nation like a vast black cloud. Several able speakers pointed out that it was necessary to retrench, among whom Joseph Hume was the most prominent. He had been educated as a surgeon and joined the East India Company in that capacity, but after acquiring a considerable fortune returned and bought a seat in Parliament. In 1818 he was elected for Aberdeen, and remained a member of the House of Commons for thirty-six years. From the first he preached economy, and in 1820 pointed out that the method of collecting the revenue was most costly. Sixty-six gentlemen were engaged as Receivers-General of land and assessed taxes, and each made a profit of about £2000 a year. Many of them acted entirely by deputies, and more than half did nothing. Hume, backed by the country gentlemen, obtained a Select Committee which recommended that the number of Receivers-General should be reduced to forty-four, and that they should be compelled to perform their own duties. Expenses were also cut down in other directions, and the Budget of 1822 amounted only to £17,815,000, which was a million and a half less than that of 1821. The funded debt, now about £795,000,000, bore interest at 3, 3½, 4, and 5 per cent. Vansittart converted £150,000,000 five per cents. into four, and thus saved the country about £1,200,000 every year. Further reductions were made in the Army and Navy, and a new complicated plan was devised for paying pensions, which was, however, of the nature of most of Vansittart's proposals. Trustees were appointed to borrow the money due to the pensioners, and £28,000,000 was set apart annually to repay the lenders until the whole debt was cancelled. A burden was thus placed on future generations for the next forty-five years, but an immediate saving of £2,000,000 annually was effected. Some unnecessary offices were next abolished and the pay of others reduced. One of

¹ Hansard, vol. vi. p. 1.

1822. the two Postmasters-General, Lord Salisbury, was dismissed, and the Junior Lords of the Admiralty received less salary. Taxation was lowered in proportion; the duties on salt and leather were lessened; the tonnage duty on shipping was abolished, and the Irish window and hearth taxes repealed, so that the peasant was no longer charged for sunlight and made to pay heavily for a peat fire in the winter.

Nevertheless the condition of Ireland was far from satisfactory, and Grattan determined to make one more effort on behalf of the Catholics now that a new monarch sat on the throne. Feeble with sickness, he travelled from Ireland to England in the summer of 1820, only to lie down to rest in London. Although the great Irish leader was dead, the cause for which he had sacrificed so much still lived and daily grew in strength. The fiery Celtic eloquence was hushed for ever beneath the stones of Westminster Abbey, but the spirit of justice still pointed towards the claims of the Catholic. The mantle of leadership fell naturally upon the shoulders of Plunket, who had represented the University of Dublin since 1812. Undoubtedly he was now not only the greatest lawyer but the finest speaker from the Emerald Isle, and had also won the confidence of Parliament by his moderation. He was attached to the policy of Lord Grenville, and, like him, voted with the Ministry in support of the Six Acts. It was not to be expected, therefore, that any violent measure would receive his approval.

On February 28, 1821, Plunket moved that the House should resolve itself into a Committee to consider the Catholic claims. After a short debate this was carried by a majority of six—227 voting Aye and 221 No. Encouraged by this, Plunket proposed six resolutions in Committee which sought to repeal the law that required as a price of the enjoyment of civil rights a declaration against transubstantiation, the invocation of Saints, and the sacrifice of the Mass. Furthermore, he proposed either to explain or repeal the word "spiritual" in the oath of supremacy, which states "that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate ought to have any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within these realms." On March 7th two Bills were introduced based upon

these resolutions. The first opened to the Roman Catholics every office except the Lord Chancellorship of England and the Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland; the second conferred upon the Crown a veto on the appointment of Roman Catholic Bishops by the Pope, and required an oath from every Priest not to have any correspondence with Rome "on any matter or thing which may interfere with or affect the civil duty or allegiance which is due to His Majesty." 1822.

These moderate demands did not satisfy the Catholics and frightened the Protestants, but the Bills passed the Commons and were sent to the Lords. Here the opposition was much keener, for Liverpool, Eldon, Wellington, and Sidmouth were all hostile, and the weight of the Royal influence was thrown into the Protestant scale. When the Duke of York, the heir to the throne, spoke strongly against the measure, on the second reading, therefore, the Bill was rejected by 39, and it became a fashionable toast to drink to the thirty-nine who saved the Thirty-nine Articles.¹

Distress and discontent in Ireland seemed part of the national heritage. The Insurrection Act of 1807 was repealed in 1810, but was again passed four years later, and remained law until the end of 1817. The population exceeded 7,000,000, of whom 1,000,000 were supposed to live by theft and begging.² Most of the landlords were obliged to keep agents on their estates to distrain for rent, and every day the cattle of the tenants could be seen being driven to the pound. Most of the people were cottier tenants or 40s. freeholders, who lived on a piece of land a quarter or half an acre in extent. Some hired these plots at the exorbitant rate of ten guineas an acre, and were forced also to pay one-tenth of their potatoes to rectors who belonged to another Church.*

These grievances rankled in the minds of the peasants, and the strong Nationalist feeling, which has always existed in Ireland, showed itself in a sullen hatred of the English. Violent outrages became very frequent. In March 1821 the house of Mr. and Mrs. Torrance, near Limerick, was attacked, but successfully defended. A few months afterwards the

¹ Hansard, v. 229-264, 279-358. "Life of Lord Eldon," ii. 416.

² Lords' Committee on Ireland, 1825, p. 558.

1822. same people were attacked by a gang of ruffians, and the lady stabbed to death, while her husband was beaten so severely that he was barely able to crawl away alive. Mr. Goings, who had commanded the Limerick police, was shot dead in October, and a month later another terrible crime was committed in Tipperary. Some cottiers had been evicted for rent by a farmer named Shea. His house was attacked and fired by an armed gang, and when his family and servants attempted to escape, they were driven back into the flames. The whole household, seventeen in number, thus perished. The Government now despatched troops into the affected districts, and a Special Commission was appointed to judge the delinquents. Molony and M'Namara were then sentenced and executed for the murder of Mrs. Torrance, but, as usual, stern measures were followed by an earnest attempt to conciliate the country. Lord Talbot, the Viceroy, was replaced by Lord Wellesley; and Saurin, the Attorney-General, by Plunket. It was hoped that both Catholics and Orangemen would thereby be propitiated, but the mischief had spread too far. Limerick, Cork, and Tipperary were the scenes of daily and nightly outrages. Arms and gunpowder were raided from the houses, the mail-coaches held up, and, worse than all, women were subjected to the most dastardly and cowardly assaults. It was hoped that the King's visit would have a good effect. The people, however, merely cheered, and then returned to their lawlessness. The local and civil authorities could no longer cope with the evil, and the Irish Government therefore applied for more power. The Habeas Corpus Act was once more annulled, and the Insurrection Act enforced, so that if seven magistrates requested, the Lord-Lieutenant could proclaim that the country or any part of it was in a disturbed state. All people who left their houses between sunset and sunrise, all who demanded arms or administered oaths, or who had weapons in their possession and refused to give them up, or who were found in a public-house at night not being genuine travellers, were now labelled idle and disorderly persons, and were liable to be shipped across the seas for seven years; and any one who distributed pamphlets of a seditious nature might be imprisoned for twelve months.

The measure was stringent, and so was the necessity. Immediately afterwards an Act was passed excusing those who, with the object of preserving order, had seized arms without legal authority since the preceding November; while another measure restricted the manufacture and sale of gunpowder and firearms, and all became law on March 11th. In Cork 366 persons were charged at the Special Commission, and thirty-five were sentenced to death. Some were immediately executed, and others were retained as hostages, with the understanding that their fate would be determined by the behaviour of their fellow-peasants. 1822.

The unfortunate people, crushed by the weight of authority above, were now to be attacked by the very ground they stood upon. The autumn of 1821 was very wet, and the potatoes rotted in the earth. Famine in all its hideous nakedness threatened the land, and its twin brother, typhus fever, overtook the exhausted and miserable peasantry.

Great efforts were made to fight the new evils. Relief Committees were formed in London, which collected over a quarter of a million sterling. Parliament placed an equal sum at the disposal of the Irish Government to be spent on works of utility, and new hospitals were opened. These measures were followed by happy results; and with the approach of autumn and a new potato-crop, all fears of actual starvation subsided.

On April 30th Canning introduced a Bill to enable Roman Catholic peers to sit in Parliament, which passed the House of Commons, but was treated in the usual manner by the Lords. In Dublin the rule of the new Viceroy was not a success. He offended the country gentry by revising the Irish magistracy, and the tradespeople by his economies at the Castle. A great meeting was fixed for November 4th—a day on which the equestrian statue of William of Orange was always decorated. Wellesley foolishly prevailed upon the Lord Mayor to forbid the ceremony. The whole city was furious, and the Corporation censured their own mayor. A month later when the Viceroy attended the theatre the opportunity was taken by the Orangemen to show their displeasure at his action. Unfavourable criticism was printed

1822. in doggerel verse on leaflets which were distributed among the audience. Wellesley himself was hissed as he entered the building, and later on a large bottle and a piece of a policeman's rattle were thrown into his box. Several arrests were made, and the absurd step was then taken of charging the prisoners with a conspiracy to murder the Viceroy. Plunket explained that the Government intended to act mercifully, and did not press the capital charge. Five prisoners were therefore accused of rioting, but the Grand Jury acquitted them all. The authorities refused to accept this decision, and twelve more men were empannelled. Plunket then exerted all his eloquence to secure a conviction, and after the trial had lasted five days the jury retired and deliberated all night. At ten o'clock in the morning they were still at variance, and at three in the afternoon were discharged weak and hungry, but still strong in their own opinions.

In England the action of Wellesley gave rise to a great deal of criticism, and it was thought he had taken a false step, while his Attorney-General was attacked in Parliament. It indeed was now apparent that the new Government would not find favour either among Catholics or Orangemen.

CHAPTER XXXVI

The effects of the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle—Unrest in Italy and Spain—Metternich gives advice to Prussia—Reactionary laws passed by the Diet—Richelieu succeeded by Villèle—Murder of the Duke of Berry—Revolution in Spain—Ferdinand accepts the Constitution of 1812—Revolutions in Naples and Portugal—Principles actuating the British Government—Agreement of Troppau—Meeting of the Sovereigns at Laibach—Neapolitan Nationalists defeated by an Austrian army—The Turkish question—Rising of the Greeks—Death of Castlereagh—Congress of Verona—Memorandum of the British Government—Canning's instructions to Wellington—France declares war on Spain—Ferdinand restored to absolute power—Conference in London to settle Portuguese affairs.

SOVEREIGNS and Ministers left the Congress at Aix-la-Chapelle well pleased with themselves and each other. Should the people of France prove troublesome, birches and men to wield them were at hand; should any country endeavour to break its promises, little mercy would be shown. The masters of Europe had spoken.

They had, however, provided a curb for the wrong horse. Symptoms of unrest did not appear in the country which usually led the revolts, but in Italy and Spain, now considered to be well settled under personal rule. Metternich had as much contempt for the opinion and power of the people he ruled as Napoleon had for the armies of his foes, and both received a rude lesson. At present, however, the statesman was full of confidence, and, "as the head of the Austrian Cabinet," sent two sketches containing his views of the principles which should guide the Prussian Government. In the first he stated boldly that "the central representation by representatives of the people is the disintegration of the Prussian State," and added that "the King ought to go no further than the formation of provincial Diets in a very carefully considered circumscribed form." In the second he urged that the gymnastic establishments should be closed and the liberty of the Press regulated "by a close agreement between Austria and Prussia."¹ He

¹ Metternich to Prince Wittgenstein, November 14, 1818. Metternich, vol. iii. p. 197.

1819. proposed that all pamphlets and journals should be closely
 August. examined, but that they should be distinguished from serious
 treatises and books. Frederick William therefore ordered
 that education should be handcuffed and speech gagged.
 The checks were, however, only on one side, and a newspaper
 proprietor, August Kotzebue, now made himself particularly
 offensive to the young Nationalist party by ridiculing their
 aims and objects. He also held the office of Russian agent
 in Central Germany, and was therefore regarded by many
 as a spy. Among the students who took part in the
 Wartburg festival of protest was a religious fanatic named
 Carl Sand, who, believing Kotzebue to be an enemy of
 German freedom, conceived the diabolical plan of murdering
 him. Forcing his way into his house, he stabbed the un-
 fortunate journalist to the heart, and then tried to commit
 suicide. He, however, recovered from his wounds and was
 executed a year afterwards, posing as a martyr for freedom
 on the scaffold. This murder of an unknown writer by a
 crazy student was used as an excuse for still more severe
 measures. Metternich again urged his principles upon the
 Prussian Government, and Hardenberg reluctantly gave
 up all thoughts of a popular Assembly. It was arranged that
 the Ministers should meet at Carlsbad in August 1819, and
 again at Vienna in June 1820. Here laws were drawn up and
 accepted by the Diet, which practically placed the sceptre
 in the hands of the King. Thus all dreams of free govern-
 ment in Prussia vanished for the next quarter of a century.

Hardenberg thought that Russia was opposed to these
 measures, and urged Castlereagh to "disillusion" Capodis-
 tria,¹ but the English Minister very properly refused to
 interfere in the domestic affairs of Germany. The Prussian
 Ministers indeed thought that Russia was prepared to sup-
 port the German minor courts and to oppose the measures
 proposed by Austria, regardless of the effect that such a
 step would have in England.² Castlereagh, indeed, agreed
 with the new measures, and wrote: "It cannot but add
 to the glory of the two great German Cabinets should

¹ Hardenberg to Castlereagh, December 30, 1819. "Correspondence,"
 vol. xii. p. 163.

² Lamb to Castlereagh, January 4, 1820. *Ibid.*, p. 165.

they succeed in carrying the Germanic Diet through the arduous details which now occupy their attention. I need not say how fervently our good wishes attend you in this as in all your undertakings.”¹ The Court of St. Petersburg did not interfere eventually, and was contented to express a wish that the efforts of the German Powers to arrest the progress of revolt should be crowned with success.

1820.
February.

Among the French Deputies returned in 1818 were some avowed enemies of the Bourbons. Richelieu became alarmed, and on his return from the Congress at Aix-la-Chapelle suggested that the Ultra-Royalist leader Villèle should be admitted into the Cabinet. This was opposed so strongly that he determined to resign his office.

Decazes, a strong personal friend of the King, succeeded him, and became the most powerful Minister in France. Preparations were at once made to bring members of the landed aristocracy into the legislature in order to hold in check the bourgeoisie. Before this could be done a tragedy sent a thrill of horror throughout the whole country. Next to the Count of Artois as heirs to the throne were his sons, the Dukes of Angoulême and Berry, both of whom were childless. It seemed therefore that the present House hung upon the slender thread of the life of the Duke of Berry. As a matter of fact a son was born² to his duchess some months afterwards, who thus became heir-presumptive to the throne. This possibility was not foreseen by a working-man named Louvel, who conceived the idea of murdering the Duke, and thus putting an end to the Bourbon dynasty. On February 13, 1820, the unfortunate prince attended the Opera House, and as he was leaving was violently attacked and stabbed in the breast by Louvel. A few hours later he was dead. At once a strong feeling in favour of stern measures was aroused. Decazes, in spite of his electoral scheme, was dismissed, and Richelieu reluctantly returned to the Ministry. The real power from this date was, however, wielded by the Count of Artois.

The feelings of nations act as tidal waves; first there is a mighty rush towards one point, then an equally great

¹ Castlereagh to Hardenberg, January 15, 1820. "Correspondence," vol. xii. p. 173.

² The Count of Chambord or Henry V.

1820. movement in the opposite direction. At the end of the eighteenth century Europe rose and shouted for freedom. After twenty years of struggle all but the few were content to accept personal rule. The people were indeed exhausted, and the ideas which had expanded too much were crushed into a narrow mould by the timorous leaders. "Give us peace," was the prayer; and the thoughtful workers preferred the tyranny of their own masters to the crushing blows of a foreign despot.

Still the sea of discontent ran high, and it was only with difficulty that Castlereagh, Metternich, and Hardenberg steered their barques. In the south the hot-blooded bull-fighters had tasted liberty, and could not be held in check. Ferdinand of Spain, weak, unjust, and superstitious, found favour only with priests and ignorant peasants, while the educated people and the army demanded more freedom. Secret societies were formed in the principal towns, and the soldiers commenced to murmur. At length the troops assembled in Cadiz ready to be shipped to the Spanish colonies rebelled.

Regiment after regiment had been poured into America, only to starve or die of yellow fever in the hopeless struggle against the revolting colonies. The soldiers were therefore strongly prejudiced against the service and easily won over to the cause of liberty. Colonels Quiroga and Riego led the rebellion, and while the former captured San Fernando, the latter proclaimed the Constitution of 1812, and seized the generals whose headquarters were at Arcos. Cadiz, however, remained loyal to the King, and after a weary march from village to village for over two months Riego disbanded his men. The blow for liberty had missed its mark, but it awoke the people. Throughout the country could be heard the cry for freedom, and the least foolish of Ferdinand's advisers suggested that the Inquisition should be abolished. Don Carlos, however, the head of the clerical party, strongly opposed any concession. For a time nothing was done, but when reports poured in from the generals that the troops were fast falling away, Ferdinand summoned the Cortes, placed new Ministers in office, and took the oath to support the Constitution of 1812. The Courts of Europe were

astounded. The carefully-fashioned instrument for enforcing their wills had broken in their hands. What had sufficed to maintain order in revolutionary France had failed in misguided Spain. Before they had recovered from the shock the system received another shattering blow. Naples had enjoyed under the rule of Joseph Bonaparte and Murat some of those rights which belong to all people, and when King Ferdinand was restored much of the new system was allowed to remain. A foolish distinction was, however, made between the officers who had followed their legitimate King idly into exile and those who had fought their country's battles under Murat. Many of the latter therefore joined the Carbonari, a secret society, which had now become a great political power working on behalf of a free Government. A scheme to upset the existing authorities was prepared, but the proceedings were too slowly matured to please a rash lieutenant of cavalry named Morelli, who was stationed at Nola. Taking the affair into his own hands, this young officer led a squadron of his regiment on July 2nd out of the town and proclaimed the Constitution. Next day the small party reached Avellino, where the officers and bishop supported the movement. The Government were alarmed, and at once sent General Carrascosa with instructions to parley with the insurgents with the hope of inducing them to lay down their arms. His mission was fruitless, and three days later the Carbonari told the King they would not be responsible for the effect in the city if a freer Government were not granted. Resistance was useless, and after a few days spent in arguing, Ferdinand took the oath to a Constitution similar to that of Spain in 1812. Encouraged by the success of the insurgents in Spain and Naples, Oporto now revolted, and peacefully formed a Junta until the Cortes could be called together and frame a new system. The British Minister at Naples, Sir William à Court, very properly took no action, but wrote: "Although 'Constitution' is the watchword used, what has happened is nothing less than the triumph of Jacobinism—it is the war of poverty against property. The lower classes have been taught to know their own power, and that the armed force (which unfortunately is not incorruptible) is the only counterpoise on the side of

1820.
June.

1820. the rich which prevents their will from becoming law.
 July. They have proved it here—may the example never be followed.”¹ He also thought that “so paternal and liberal a Government was never before known in these kingdoms. With more severity and more distrust a different result might have been obtained, but it was fatal that an excess of liberality here should lead exactly to the same end as an excess of an opposite nature in Spain.”²

Castlereagh in a despatch to Lord Stewart at once stated that the British Government would not interfere, but would leave Austria free to act in any manner she thought fit.³ Stewart was therefore instructed to visit the Emperor and to collect information. He was not, however, to make his Court “a party to any decision that may be taken by the Sovereigns.” Still the British Government were as usual prepared to aid a distressed monarch, and secret instructions were given to Sir Graham Moore, who commanded the Mediterranean Squadron, to provide as far as depended upon him for the security of the Royal Family. If necessary he was to repair to the Bay of Naples and receive them on board his ships if invited to do so by Sir William à Court.⁴ The Minister was at the same time told he was not to recognise officially the new Government.⁵

The Czar, anxious to oppose revolution anywhere, wished to interfere actively and at once, and hoped the other Powers

¹ Sir William à Court to Castlereagh, July 6, 1820. “Correspondence,” vol. xii. p. 279.

² *Ibid.*

³ Castlereagh to Lord Stewart, July 29, 1820: “The King had reason to regret the mode in which the change of Government lately effected in Spain was brought about, namely, almost exclusively by the army. His Majesty cannot but witness with increased surprise and grief the forcible subversion of the Government of Naples by their army, and is afraid the tendency will be to excite uneasiness in the Austrian Cabinet for the security of their Italian possessions. As this Power is chiefly affected, it has been our object to conduct ourselves so as to leave the Austrian Government unembarrassed as far as possible. With this view I have told Sir Charles Stuart to decline any overture for a Ministerial conference before the opinion of Austria shall be declared, and we shall tell Metternich what is our line of policy. We cannot act forcibly, but shall not interfere if Austria does so.” F. O. Records, Continent, 43.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Castlereagh to Sir William à Court, September 16. F. O. Records, Continent, 14.

would join him in forcing Spain to renounce her new Constitution. The Court of Vienna, however, was not favourable to the plan, and the British Government refused to act, while in France Richelieu was content to follow the lead of England. It was settled, therefore, that the Emperors of Austria and Russia and the King of Prussia should meet at Troppau in Moravia and settle Neapolitan affairs. For the moment it seemed that Metternich and Alexander were to be permitted to deal with Naples as they wished. In this the former was doomed to be disappointed, for his plans to restore absolute government by force were strongly resisted by Capodistria, who had far more liberal ideas than his master. Still, although the Russian Minister opposed, the following treaty was drawn up in the idealistic language used in agreements at this date, and signed on November 19, 1820:—

1820.
September.

“The Allied Cabinets are united to consider the danger of European Revolution, wishing to apply the principles of their alliance, and to preserve their people and Europe from the contagion of crime, and wishing to assure the development peaceably and happily of civilisation, justice, and law under Christian morality.

“For which purpose the plenipotentiaries of Austria, Prussia, and Russia sign the following articles:—

“I. Any State forming part of the European alliance which shall be in a state of revolution, and being a menace for other States, shall cease to be a member of the alliance until order shall be restored.

“II. The Powers will not recognise any change ordered by an illegal Government.

“III. If any States shall consider the proximity of any other country a danger, they shall first persuade, and then use force if necessary.

“IV. The Allied Powers intend to adopt these measures to restore liberty to the King of the Two Sicilies.

“V. If friendly representations fail, the Powers propose to occupy with an army temporarily the Neapolitan States. The military occupation will be effected by an Austrian army in the name of the Powers.

“VI. To carry out the above dispositions the Allied

1820. Powers will name plenipotentiaries to undertake the negotiations between the said Powers and His Sicilian Majesty.

Novem-
ber.

"Signed November 19, 1820.

"METTERNICH.

HARDENBERG.

BERNSTOFF.

NESSELRODE.

CAPO D'ISTRIA."¹

It was now determined to invite King Ferdinand to meet the three Sovereigns at Laibach in Carniola, and then to summon the Neapolitan people to abandon their Constitution. The project, however, received no sympathy in England, and as soon as Castlereagh heard the news of the Treaty of Troppau he wrote to Lord Stewart and strongly condemned the whole principles therein stated. He pointed out that it was one thing to form an alliance against Bonaparte and revolutionary France, and quite another to combine generally against any one. He himself was "in favour of allowing States to work out their own destiny," and therefore did not intend to appoint a plenipotentiary at Laibach. He did not, however, object to the English Ministers at Vienna and Naples accompanying the Emperors to the Conference and taking part in the debate provided that they did not commit their Government to take any action.² Soon afterwards the following Circular Despatch to His Majesty's Ministers at Foreign Courts was laid before the House of Lords:—

The King had declined to become a party to the measures discussed at Troppau and Laibach, which embrace two distinct objects—1st, The establishment of certain general principles for the regulation of the future political conduct of the allies in the cases therein prescribed; and 2nd, The proposed mode of dealing under these principles with the existing affairs of Naples.

The British Government does not regard these principles as such as could be safely admitted as a system of international law, and is afraid they would lead to much more

¹ F. O. Records, Continent, 43.

² Castlereagh to Stewart, December, 16, 1820. F. O. Records, Continent, 43.

frequent and extensive interference in the internal transactions of States than they are persuaded is intended by the august parties from whom they proceed. In the particular case of Naples the British Government could not interfere, but the Austrian might.¹

1821.
February.

In spite of the firm attitude of England Ferdinand was invited to meet the allied monarchs at Laibach, where it was decided to restore him as an absolute monarch by means of an Austrian army. Naples was invaded by 50,000 men, and the Neapolitans were routed at the first encounter at Rieti. Metternich and absolutism were thus victorious, and while Ferdinand revelled in his restored power, the active insurgents rotted in prison.

The violence of Austria, and the moderate policy of Richelieu, had a curious effect in France. The Deputies became so jealous of Austrian supremacy in Europe that the Ultra-Royalists overthrew the Minister and restored Villèle to power. Spain was still torn by conflicting passions and riddled with intrigues, and while Ferdinand endeavoured to control the army and to uphold the monasteries, Riego and the Radicals rioted in extravagant oratory. The action of the Powers in Naples increased the enmity and mutual distrust of the parties. At length some battalions of the Royal Guard, who were marching on the capital to support the King, were defeated by insurgent troops in the streets. Ferdinand appealed to Louis XVIII., and the Ultra-Royalists fanned the embers which were soon to burst forth into the flames of war. The fate of nations once more rested upon generals and armies, while statesmen whittled their tongues in debate. A meeting was arranged to take place at Vienna in 1822, for a new danger loomed on the political horizon. It was caused by the much-abused and misunderstood Turk. Essentially an old-fashioned aristocrat, a soldier, a politician, and an agriculturist, the Turk has little knowledge of commerce, and less of the art of finance. He distrusts Christians as much as they dislike him, and is very jealous of his own rights and religion. For more than two hundred years the Eastern European Powers had wrangled over the prospect of dividing the Ottoman Empire between them, and during this

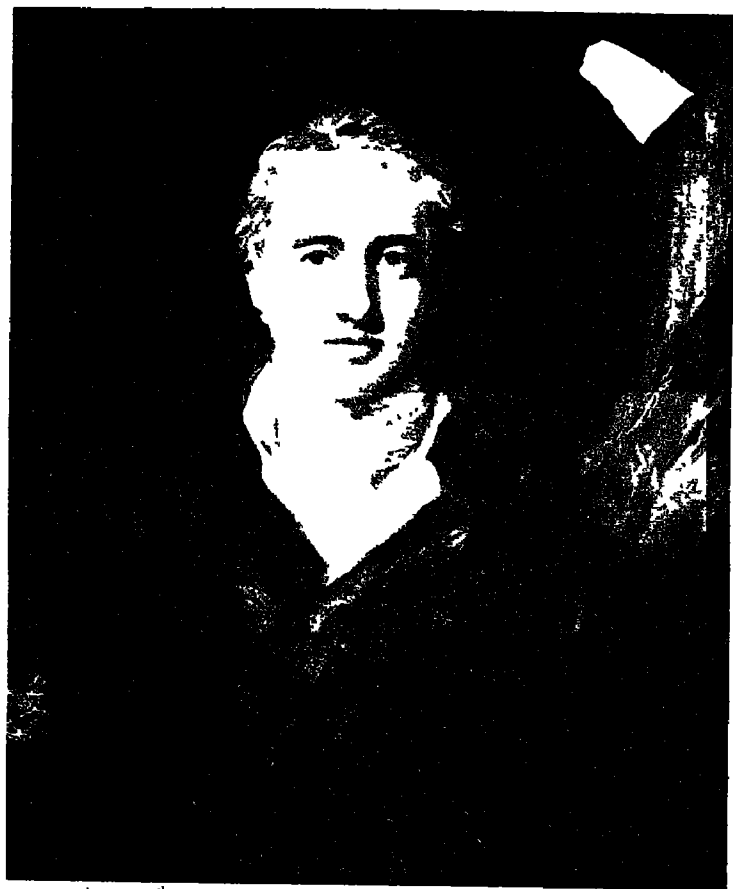
¹ F. O. Records, Continent, 43.

1821. period Russia had conquered the northern shores of the Black Sea, and repeatedly invaded Moldavia and Wallachia, always with the avowed object of protecting the Christian inhabitants. At length, by the Treaty of Kainarji (1775), Russia was recognised as the protector of the two Principalities. The western Powers, on the other hand, had listened to the cries for help, and supported the Porte in exchange for commercial advantages. This was the condition of affairs when the Greeks, long dissatisfied with their fate, revolted against the Ottoman rule. The relationship between Russia and Turkey became greatly strained, and the danger of an open rupture in the East at once overshadowed the affairs of Spain and Naples. The Powers therefore arranged for a Congress, and Londonderry decided to attend it himself. He had now settled that Spain and her colonies should work out their own destiny, and proposed to recognise some of the new South American Republics. He could therefore devote the whole of his time to this new and serious problem. Unfortunately, he had asked from himself too much. The ceaseless strain of delicate diplomatic work had worn out his highly strung intellect. The new effort was too much. His mind gave way, and caused him to destroy the clay in which it reposed.

Castlereagh has been far too severely judged by historians.¹ From the time he entered political life until the end of his career he was pitted against rebels at home and enemies abroad. Trained in the very throes of the Irish rebellion of 1798, coercive measures became for him part of the normal system of Government. Actively engaged against Napoleon abroad, the evils caused by the ambition of that single autocrat were ever before his eyes. Can we wonder, therefore, that he was in favour of alliances against revolution

¹ Greville says: "Lord Londonderry's head was turned by Emperors, Kings, and Congresses, and he resolved that the country which he represented should play as conspicuous a part as any other in the political dramas which were acted on the Continent."

Walpole says: "His decease was not the mere death of a man; it gave the death-blow to a system." This manifestly applies only to his home policy. The only historian who has closely studied the foreign policy of this period, Mr C. A. Fyffe, takes a far more just view of the character of Castlereagh.



Robert Stewart Viscount Castlereagh

abroad and of strong laws at home? Rather it is evidence of his just, large-minded nature that, in spite of all, he refused to join in the measures of the Powers against Naples, and insisted that some of the Spanish-American colonies should be free. Throughout all he did what seemed to him his duty in an honest, straightforward manner, neither seeking the favour of monarchs nor the applause of the people. At the end he stood alone. He would not go the lengths proposed by his friend Metternich, he would not support the ambitions of Alexander, he was distrusted by Canning, the most powerful man in the British Cabinet, and he was hated by the people, who neither knew the man nor understood his nature. Yet he strenuously upheld the best traditions of the English Foreign Office, and must be regarded as one of the founders of the modern British Empire. The only man fit to succeed him was his lifetime rival Canning. He was therefore appointed Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and Wellington proceeded to Verona as the envoy of England, but by this time the preliminary meeting had been opened at Vienna, and most of the business except that relating to Italian affairs was finished.

1822.
Septem-
ber.

The opinion and attitude of the Government are well shown in a memorandum drawn up for the use of Wellington. The subject-matters to be debated at Verona were: (1) the Turkish question, internal and external; (2) the Spanish question, European and American; and (3) the affairs of Italy. The especial British points were the slave trade, the Austrian debt, and the late Russian ukase. Referring to the affairs of the Italian States, the memorandum says: "Upon these points the position of the British Minister, consistently with the principles laid down at Troppau and Laibach, must necessarily be somewhat distinct from that of his colleagues at Vienna, as we are no parties to the acts which were taken by the allied cabinets there assembled. We acquiesced in their measures and

erved to ourselves the right to interfere when we saw occasion, but we did not agree to charge ourselves with any superintendence of the system decided on, and we may therefore regard the duty of the British plenipotentiary upon Italian affairs as limited to informing himself of what

1822.
Septem-
ber.

is going on.”¹ In Turkish affairs the objects of England were, first, to prevent a rupture between Russia and the Porte; secondly, to soften the rigour of the war between the Turks and Greeks; and, thirdly, to observe a strict neutrality.

“Now that the Greeks have erected a Government, we are brought to deal with them upon matters of blockade and other questions dependent upon the law of nations. Considering the course pursued by Great Britain now for so many years towards the local Governments exercising dominion in South America and her avowed neutrality as between the Greeks and Turks, it may be difficult for this country, if a *de facto* Government shall actually be established in the Morea and the Western Provinces of Turkey, to refuse to it the ordinary privileges of a belligerent; but it must be done with caution and without ostentation, lest it should render the Turks wholly inaccessible to our remonstrances. If an intervention is suggested, care must be taken not to commit this country to any concert of this nature that shall go beyond the limits of good offices, and no guarantee is admissible.”

“With regard to the Spanish question in Europe, solicitude for the Royal family, observance of our engagements to Portugal, and a rigid abstinence from any interference in internal affairs is the basis of His Majesty’s policy. The Spanish-American affairs are more serious. If Spain cannot re-establish her authority within a limited time, other States will acknowledge them (the colonies) sooner or later. The practical question is, How long shall a *de facto* system of recognition be maintained to the exclusion of the diplomatic, and when should the latter be adopted? It is necessary to endeavour to bring the allied cabinets to adopt a common sentiment, but to leave to the British Government an independent discretion to act according to circumstances. The British plenipotentiary cannot press too strongly the necessity of some settlement on the slave trade.”² On September 27th Canning wrote to Wellington further instructions. “Russia has no right to demand more from Turkey than the fulfilment of treaties. Our object is to

¹ Memorandum to the Duke of Wellington. F. O. Records, Continent, 46.

² F. O. Records, Continent, 46.

preserve peace and avoid all interference in the internal concerns of any nation. The Emperor of Russia may have motives of policy exclusively Russian, if not for regretting the loss of an opportunity to aggrandise himself at the expense of Turkey, at least for not appearing to throw such an opportunity away so hastily as to embitter the regrets and possibly excite the indignation of his army and people. If he should make new and unattainable requisitions, we surely cannot join, but must undertake again the task of friendly mediation, and if it fails we must withdraw altogether from any concern in a contest which to prevent we have left nothing unessayed. The same argument applies to questions of Turkey and Greece. Supposing the Greeks demand far more than they have originally asked, and supposing Turkey grants their present demands and asks us to chastise them for rejecting at once our authority and mediation—should we support the Turks against the Greeks? Undoubtedly not; and if not, how can we push our interference on their behalf to the extremity of war? Therefore we must use our good offices, but not incur the risk of hostilities by the responsibility of a guarantee." This month a naval force was despatched to the West Indies. Villèle became suspicious, and asked the reason. He was then told that it was to protect British commerce from piratical attacks by vessels sailing under the Spanish flag.²

The Powers were by no means now closely allied either in feeling or intention. Alexander wished to repeat to Spain the chastisement given to Naples, and to employ Russian troops for the purpose, but Villèle absolutely refused to allow the passage of a Russian army through France.³ The French envoy, Montmorency, next asked if, in the event of France proceeding to war, the other Powers would support her. This was answered in the affirmative by all the plenipotentiaries except Wellington, who refused to give any promise. Still the Continental Powers showed they intended to apply the principles of Troppau in the case

¹ Canning to Wellington, September 27, 1822. F. O. Records, Continent, 46.

² Canning to Stuart, F. O. Records, France, 265.

³ "Wellington Despatches," i. 343.

1822.
Decem-
ber.

of Spain by arranging in a secret agreement that if that country refused to change its Constitution all the ambassadors should be recalled. Villèle protested against this high-handed proceeding, and Montmorency was forced to retire. There is, indeed, no doubt that Villèle was in favour of peace and wished to act in unison with the British Government. To this effect he so frequently expressed himself to Sir Charles Stuart that Canning wrote to Wellington: "If danger of war is the case you may offer frankly the mediation of His Majesty's Government between Spain and France."¹ Chateaubriand, the fighting-cock of French statesmen, was now appointed Foreign Minister, which shows that King Louis was by no means so peacefully inclined as Villèle. War was therefore a question of weeks. Still Canning worked so strenuously for peace that it was rumoured that Spain wished to purchase the friendship and, if necessary, assistance of England by commercial advantages and colonial cessions, for which purpose the naval expedition to the West Indies was presumed to have been sent. This was of course not the case, though it is true that the Government were thinking of a commercial treaty with Spain.² It was also rumoured that England had guaranteed to Portugal her territories and Government. Sir Charles Stuart was therefore instructed to inform M. Villèle that this was limited to our "ancient engagements and obligations, none of which would enable Portugal to call upon us for aid in a quarrel in which she herself had given the provocation."³ As a matter of fact, the reason for the opposition of England to the proposals of the Powers is stated clearly by Canning in a despatch to Sir Charles Stuart: "Our difference from France and the allies is not as to the arrangements which it would be desirable to obtain from Spain, but as to the principles upon which France and the allies propose to require them."⁴ The British Government, however, could not interfere actively, and Spain was there-

¹ Canning to Wellington, December 6, 1822. F. O. Records, Continent, 46. Montmorency declined the mediation of Great Britain as one of his last acts in office.

² Canning to Sir Charles Stuart, December 3, 1822. *France*, 265.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, January 28, 1823. *Ibid.*

fore left to resist the attack alone. This commenced on April 7th, when the Duke of Angoulême led a French army over the frontier. Undisciplined bodies of Royalists and others at once commenced to pillage and lay waste the northern countries, while Madrid itself was threatened by a corps of free-lances under Bessières. Fortunately the French reached the city before much damage could be done, and Angoulême maintained strict order. The French commander indeed wished to appoint a provisional government himself, but was prevented by orders from Paris, and a Regency came into power which immediately revoked all the acts of the Cortes affecting the monastic orders and re-established absolute rule. In this the Regency was supported by the ambassadors of the three despotic Powers, but opposed by Angoulême, who strongly objected to the arbitrary arrest of the friends of the Constitution.

Meanwhile the Cortes retired to Cadiz, taking King Ferdinand with them. Angoulême followed and appeared before the city in August, when he sent a note to the King recommending him to restore the Constitution and grant an amnesty. This was refused, and the place was at once besieged until the Cortes gave up the King to the French. The war was over, but order was by no means restored. Reaction in its most violent shape reigned supreme. Ministers, members of the Cortes, judges, generals, and officials of all descriptions were either executed or banished. Even when the King himself wished to adopt moderate measures he was forced into violent action by his brother Don Carlos and his gang of priests. The three Eastern Powers now endeavoured to undo some of the effects of their work, but the curse of religious fanaticism was upon the whole country. The Powers had prevailed, but to what end? A weak rule followed by absolutism destroyed all that was worth living for in Spain; the dawn of liberty had become the darkest night, the bid for freedom had been succeeded by the most vicious form of priestly tyranny. The action of the Powers was unjust and illegal in principle, and was both badly planned and wrongly executed in practice. Alexander

1823.
January.

1824.
January.

and Metternich had no right to urge France to interfere with the internal affairs of Spain. When war had been declared it was a great mistake to harass the French General and prevent him fashioning a moderate form of Government. The net result was anarchy, practised not by a people but by a king and his priests.

Canning had a much freer hand than Castlereagh, and used his power fearlessly. He was bound by no ties of personal friendship to the Czar or to Metternich, he had taken no part in the Holy Alliance, and he had the goodwill and admiration of the whole British nation behind him. It is true he was not regarded with much favour by the King or the Court ladies, but that did not influence his policy either at home or abroad. Still he recognised that the people of England were not yet fitted to possess political powers, and he knew well the danger of premature disclosure of foreign affairs. He indeed watched the secrets of the Foreign Office so carefully that the *Courier* attacked him bitterly because he placed so many difficulties in the way of the newspapers obtaining information.

In January 1824 Chateaubriand sent a circular note to the ambassadors of the Powers urging them to meet at once and settle the affairs of Spain and her colonies. Canning had already appointed Consular agents to many of the revolted colonies, and answered that as these had already separated from the Mother Country it was useless to have a conference. The independence of Buenos Ayres, Colombia, and Mexico was formally recognised soon after, and commercial treaties were concluded with the new Republics.

In the summer of this year, however, a meeting was held in London to settle the affairs of Portugal, which was attended by the plenipotentiaries of Portugal, Brazil, and Austria. Canning was also present and held a watching brief for England. The British Government wished to organise Brazil as an independent monarchy under a member of the Portuguese Royal House of Braganza. Brazil approved and Austria also agreed, but the Portuguese envoy pleaded at first lack of instructions. Later, in Sep-

tember, the plan was rejected by the Portuguese, and a counter project was prepared which proposed that the King of Portugal should become emperor of Brazil. This was sent to the Courts of France, Spain, Russia and Prussia. Canning thereupon broke up the conference in London, and nothing more was done to settle the affairs of Brazil at this time.

1824.
Septem-
ber,

CHAPTER XXXVII

The Budgets of Vansittart and Robinson — Discontent caused by their methods—Changes in the Ministry—Free Trade views of Huskisson—Repeal of the Navigation Laws—The Catholic question—Rioting in Ireland—The Catholic Association formed—Relief Bill defeated in the Lords—Resolutions on the slave trade—Their reception in the colonies—Revolution in Demerara—Smuggling on the south coast—Laws regulating capital and labour—Rioting at Macclesfield—Uniformity of weights and measures—The gambling mania of 1824—Failure of commercial houses and banks—Government measures to restore confidence.

1822. MR. VANSITTART was not a great financier. From year to year he raised taxes and loans to meet the interest on the debt and the expenses of the Government in a most arbitrary manner. He seemed to imagine that if he took a shilling from one pocket and put it into another he had in some mysterious way made a profit. As we have seen, his scheme for paying pensions merely removed the burden from the shoulders of his generation to those of people to come. He paid off one by borrowing from another, so that the country was still a debtor to the same amount. Pitt had always intended that the Sinking Fund for reducing the debt should be allowed to accumulate. Lord Londonderry and Vansittart considered it as a reserve of money which might be used in any emergency. The result was that while Ministers repeatedly stated that the Sinking Fund had paid off nearly twenty-five millions of the debt since 1817, it had actually increased by seven millions and a half, and the annual charge was £700,000 greater. The nation indeed owed eleven millions more than at the close of the war, and it was apparent that something was radically wrong with the financial methods adopted.

The educated Radicals, led by Cobbett, proposed to take the funds of the Church and the Crown Lands to pay the debt, while the uneducated, influenced by the oratory of Hunt, suggested the even simpler method of wiping it out altogether. Murmurs in the country gave place to growls of

displeasure, and these in turn were followed by angry cries for reform. The war had ceased six years ago. There was no excuse for high taxes. The Budgets of Vansittart indeed were covered with veneers which concealed the rottenness of the structure beneath, and while appearing beautiful works of art, were supported not on a sound framework, but on soft pulp. The removal of some small taxes afforded relief to the extent of a few pence per year, and the system of borrowing appeared to diminish the burden, when in reality it merely transferred it to others. A new era in the history of the country was now opening. Vansittart retired with the title of Lord Bexley, and was succeeded by Mr. Robinson, while his office as President of the Board of Trade was taken by Mr. Huskisson. Canning was now again included in the Cabinet, and the two new members soon showed that they would not be ruled by the extreme Toryism of Lords Liverpool and Eldon and the Duke of Wellington.

1823.
January.

It was well known that Huskisson had leanings towards Free Trade, but the full strength of his financial ability had not yet been shown. He himself recognised that the only way to increase the wealth of the nation was to improve its earning power by encouraging its manufactures. He was also opposed to borrowing during peace, and thought that no more should be spent in one year than could be raised. When he took office people were beginning to realise that their existence would be very precarious if they were limited to the food supply produced in their own small island, where the climate was never temperate except in name. The price of the loaf for the poor and the rent for the rich were indeed such variable quantities that business was paralysed for want of stability. Again, the manufacturer, instead of being able to purchase his wool, hemp, timber, silk, and other raw materials in the cheapest markets, was hampered in many ways.

Statesmen have always fashioned their policy in the manner which seemed to them most likely to benefit their countries at the time being. The result is that every nation has entangled itself in such a mesh of tariffs, drawbacks, duties, and treaties, that it is impossible to say in which direction commerce would flow if it were permitted to find its own

1822. channels. The most, therefore, that a modern statesman can do is to accommodate himself to his surroundings. In 1822 it was apparent to Huskisson and many others that it was a mistake to impose a duty on foreign wool, which was one of the chief raw products worked upon in the country. Many indeed petitioned Parliament to repeal the tax, which yielded a revenue of £400,000 only, but the manufacturers would not agree to the free export of wool, which was the only condition upon which the Government was prepared to grant their request. The general policy of Huskisson, indeed, was to break down the barriers around British trade and to admit raw produce and food free. ¶ This was manifestly the wisest course to pursue at the time, for if manufacture were only in its infancy in Great Britain, in no other country had it been born. It was therefore to the interest of the nation to become the workshop of the world. It was also sound to encourage good customers by buying from them in return. India at this time bought a million pounds' worth of cotton goods every year, which were sold to the natives cheaper than they could sell muslin to each other. It was therefore proposed that India should be allowed to send sugar to the Mother Country in return. Many difficulties, however, were in the way, for the sugar industry was so bound up with the question of West Indian slavery that it could not be satisfactorily arranged. From that day to this the duties and bounties on this article of food have always been so complicated that it is extremely difficult to discover whether any one really benefits or loses by them.

It is outside the scope of this work to discuss the relative advantages and disadvantages of Free Trade and Protection, but it is permissible to state that every great nation has always protected its industries in the past. ¶ The picture of Tiberius exhorting the Romans not to ship their silver in return for the costly jewels and silky products of the East, recalls to mind the practice of the most modern republic. Napoleon imposed prohibitive tariffs, and France has always acted upon the same principle. Washington was a protectionist, and the United States have followed in his footsteps. The condition of the United Kingdom was, however, different to that of any ancient or modern state. Its population

was already engaged largely in manufacture, and its food supply was limited. It seemed, therefore, that at this time it was to the interest of the country to rely more upon its supremacy in craftsmanship than upon artificial methods of increasing its trade. The chief step in the direction of freedom was, however, the Reciprocity of Duties Bill, which was forced upon the country by the action of foreign Powers. The Navigation Acts date back to the period of Cromwell's rule, and were continued at the Restoration, for a law passed in the twelfth year of Charles II. decreed that the produce of Asia, Africa, and America should be carried to the United Kingdom only in English ships commanded and manned by British sailors. European goods also, if carried in foreign ships, were taxed to such an extent that a virtual monopoly was secured.¹ This plan worked well until after the American war, when the United States Government placed the same burdens on British ships as were forced upon their own. The result was that vessels of both countries crossed the Atlantic in ballast and returned with cargoes, so that the consumer was forced to pay practically a double freight. In 1815 the two Governments recognised the absurdity of this and repealed the duties. Other countries at once threatened to follow the lead of America. The Netherlands decreed that preference should be given to all merchandise imported in Dutch ships if England did not reverse her policy. Portugal also retaliated, and Prussia first raised the dues on all British ships and then threatened to take other steps.

It was no use attempting to fight against such an extensive boycott, and in 1822 the Vice-President of the Board of Trade, Mr. Wallace, carried five Bills which abolished most of the restrictions.² Aided by such a stimulus, commerce began to spread in all directions. Still Prussia was not satisfied until Mr. Huskisson carried his Bill, which arranged that all duties and drawbacks were to be imposed and allowed on all merchandise equally, whether carried in British or foreign bottoms. The power was, however,

¹ Adam Smith was in favour of the Navigation Acts, and Mill considered that they were politically expedient.

² The five Bills repealed all the provisions of the Acts of Charles II.

1822. reserved to the King in Council to retaliate when necessary. This Bill passed the Commons by 75 to 15 votes.¹ Thus was the first wedge inserted which was destined, with the aid of others, to break up the British ring in the carrying trade. At first the shippers loudly protested, as all other owners of monopolies have done throughout history, but soon the great increase in their business far more than compensated them for any loss that may have been caused by the admission of foreign ships to an equal advantage.

The debate on that hardy annual, the Catholic claims, was enlivened this year by a fierce personal attack by Mr. Tierney, Mr. Brougham, and Sir F. Burdett on Mr. Canning, who had stated that he thought it would be impossible to form a Government which, if it agreed upon this question, would do so on others equally important, and be able to carry on the business of the country.² It was therefore thought that the Minister had deserted the cause of the Catholics, and he was accused of "political tergiversation," "truckling," and other crimes. Canning, trembling with passion, rose and said, "I rise to say that is false." After an embarrassing silence the Speaker hoped the right honourable gentlemen would retract. Canning refused to take back his words and Brougham to explain away his accusation. Then, as is usual on these fortunately rare occasions, the matter was compromised by the statement that the charge referred to the political and not the private character of the Minister.

Nothing was done, and the condition of Ireland was as bad as ever. The chief delinquents in the north were the Roman Catholics, and in the south and Dublin the Orangemen. Rioting, shooting, houghing of cattle, and firing of houses were of daily occurrence. Soldiers and police failed to track the small gangs who carried on this guerilla warfare against law and order. The Government were powerless, and Lord Wellesley could only suggest a coercive policy leavened by concessions. It was impossible to satisfy the Catholics by removing their grievances at present, but the Insurrection Act could be reimposed, and it seemed that tithes could be

¹ Hansard, vol. ix. p. 1439.

² Ibid., vol. viii. p. 1287.

gathered in with less friction. A Bill was therefore carried 1823. in 1822 which permitted the proprietors of tithes, with the consent of the bishop of the diocese, to let them on lease to the landowners. The effect of this measure was, however, so small that in 1823 Goulburn, the Chief Secretary, introduced a new Bill. If the incumbent or a certain number of tithe-paying inhabitants wished it, the Viceroy was empowered to call together a special vestry of persons to fix the amount which should be given instead of tithes. The incumbent was to appoint a commissioner and the people another, who were to settle the amount to be paid, and if no agreement were reached these two were to nominate a third. At the same time, pasturage land, which had been exempt from tithes, was included, so that the burden was distributed over a greater area.¹ The measure was intended to be of a compulsory nature, but was afterwards made permissive. The success of the experiment was great, and a large number of applications for special vestries were speedily made. The Tithe Act and the revision of the magistracy were indeed very efficacious in restoring order. Outrages became rarer, but the Associations were still active. The Orangemen disliked Lord Wellesley because of his Catholic sympathies, and he on his part wished to suppress their societies. In Parliament a motion was made by James Abercromby, the son of the distinguished General, to regulate the Orange Associations and to strengthen the hands of the Lord-Lieutenant. This was, however, withdrawn when Goulburn announced that the Government intended to suppress all secret societies; and later in the session an Act was passed to prevent the taking of unlawful oaths. Nothing could, however, affect the Orange movement, which grew in size and strength every day. The Catholics, alarmed at the prowess of their adversaries, imitated them and also established societies all over the country. The agitators thus became organised into two great camps, which contained not only peasants, but priests and men of high rank. A change had come over the scene. Single acts of violence ceased and peaceful persuasion was resorted to instead.

¹ George IV., c. 99, s. xxxv.

1824. The right road was now at length discovered. A few Roman Catholic lawyers and gentlemen met together in Dublin to discuss their grievances in a quiet, almost academic manner. Their debates were prominently reported in the Press, and soon the Association became the centre for all the Catholic Reformers. Men of all classes joined in the meetings held with parliamentary forms in Dublin, and every subject of interest to Ireland was debated. The Government could do nothing, for the Society met openly and never crossed the rubicon of the law. The leader was a man singularly fitted for that post—Daniel O'Connell. Born in 1775, he was educated partly in France, where he learnt to be firm and moderate and to avoid all excesses, which he saw led to hopeless chaos. He returned to Ireland and joined the Irish Bar, where his eloquence and reasoning won for him a foremost place. In 1800 he opposed the Union, and soon after became a prominent worker for the Catholics. Violence had been rightly suppressed by force; it was now necessary either to meet arguments with reason or to yield. The Government therefore wisely decided to seek the cause of unrest and not to remain content with crushing the effects.

Mr. Brownlow, the member for Armagh, himself one of the Orange Society, now petitioned Parliament to suppress the Catholic Association, but was promptly snubbed by Plunket, who censured him for joining an "unlawful association" himself, and then hinted he was ready to administer the law impartially against both factions.

Early in the session of 1824 Lord Darnley moved for a Committee to examine into the affairs of Ireland and to report upon the effects of the recent measures. This was rejected, but a similar proposal made in the House of Commons by Lord Althorp was more favourably received. The eldest son of Earl Spencer was born in 1782, and educated at Harrow and Cambridge, where he showed much promise. He first came prominently into notice during the debates on the charges which Colonel Wardle brought against the Duke of York. He proposed, indeed, that His Royal Highness should be removed from his office of Commander-in-Chief. This earned for him the reputation

of an extreme Liberal, and he was speedily drawn into the society of reformers and opponents of Lord Liverpool. He now supported the cause of the Irish Catholics, and on his demand Goulburn promised to grant an inquiry, but proposed to limit it to "the nature and extent of the disturbances that have prevailed in those districts of Ireland which are now subject to the operation of the Insurrection Act." A step had been taken in the right direction, although not a very long one. It now occurred to Lord Lansdowne that the Roman Catholics of England also deserved some measure of justice. He introduced a Bill, therefore, allowing Catholics to become revenue officers and justices of the peace, and was supported by Lords Liverpool, Harrowby, Westmoreland, Bexley, and Bathurst, all Cabinet Ministers. Still large majorities voted against the measure, and the prospects of Catholic relief seemed as remote as ever.¹ A Bill to enable the Duke of Norfolk to sit as Earl Marshal was, however, smuggled through the House of Lords.

The Liberals, baffled in their endeavours to help the Catholics, now made a strong attack on the Protestants. Hume moved for an inquiry into the Church Establishment of Ireland, and in an able speech pointed out several abuses. He showed that many of the clergy were pluralists, that large numbers were non-resident, and that most received incomes very much too large for the work they performed. He reminded the House that the Church rate in Ireland was levied chiefly on Roman Catholics, and that it was applied illegally, for clerks were provided with houses and given salaries higher than the law permitted.² No one attempted to defend these practices. Still the Established Church was so firmly rooted in the Constitution that little effect was made by the debate, and Hume only secured seventy-nine supporters.

Louder and bolder grew the cry of the Catholics and deeper and greater the anxiety of the Government. O'Connell was now prosecuted for stating in a speech that if Parliament would not attend to the Roman Catholic claims he hoped

¹ Hansard, vol. xi. p. 842.

² Ibid., vol. xii. p. 619.

1825. some Bolivar would vindicate their rights.¹ The Grand Jury, however, refused to bring in a Bill, and the Ministry once again received a lesson in justice from the people.

Parliament met on February 3rd, and the King congratulated the country on the fact that the outrages had ceased, but regretted "that associations should exist in Ireland which have adopted proceedings irreconcilable with the spirit of the Constitution, and calculated by exciting alarm and exasperating animosities to endanger the peace of society, and to retard the course of national improvement." He hoped that Parliament would consider without delay "the means of applying a remedy to the evil." There was no doubt what this meant, and Goulburn introduced a Bill which declared that all associations in Ireland, formed to redress grievances in State or Church, were illegal. The measure also prevented societies "renewing their meetings for more than fourteen days or collecting or receiving money." This was steadily resisted by the Opposition, and Brougham moved that the Roman Catholic Association should be heard by counsel. Still the Ministry, confident in their strength, persevered, and on March 7th the Bill became law.

A majority of Parliament can pass any Act, but a majority of the people can successfully resist its application. The Catholic Association merely altered its form, met once in fourteen days and stated that the funds were collected only for charitable purposes. The Act was equally useless against the Orange societies.

Even while the Bill was before the Lords, Burdett again raised the question of Roman Catholic relief, and was supported by Canning and Brougham. The Duke of Wellington now drew up an elaborate scheme which conferred complete relief and religious equality. His Grace thought, as it was impossible to resist any longer, the Tory party ought to concede the point and remain Ministers of the King.² The Relief Bill passed the Commons on May 10th, although Peel opposed it and offered to resign, but was persuaded to remain

¹ "Wellington Despatches," vol. ii. p. 384. Bolivar was a successful leader of the insurgents in the South American Colonies.

² "Wellington Despatches," vol. ii. p. 595.

in office. The Ministry were indeed seriously threatened, 1825. when they were saved by the Duke of York. Discarding all argument, he stood up in the House of Lords and appealed to the sentiment of the Peers by reminding them of the cause of the illness of his father. He then stated that the principles which he had imbibed from his earliest youth he would adhere to and maintain "to the latest moment of his existence whatever might be his situation. So help him God."¹ This speech created the greatest sensation and was received with much applause. Protestants, now that their cause was championed, forgot to resent the unseemly use of Royal influence which they had so strenuously resisted during the trial of the Queen. The normal instincts of charity and justice were for the moment in abeyance and strong religious prejudice reigned triumphant. Ardent Protestants did not scruple what means they used provided that the Catholics were defeated. The second reading of the Bill was therefore rejected by a majority of forty-eight Lords, and the victory was celebrated by feasting and rejoicing.²

Meanwhile trouble had arisen in the Western colonies. In 1823 Canning proposed that steps should be taken to improve the condition of the slaves in the West Indies so as to fit them eventually for freedom. He could not, however, promise to abolish the traffic altogether within any definite period. The proposals were agreed to without a division, and it was ordered that they should be laid before the King. At once arose a clamour in the country on behalf of the West India interest, although the belief was very general that the debate in the House had been an academic one, and that the suggestions themselves were mere empty statements. This they certainly were not, as was speedily shown when a circular was sent to the governors of the various slave islands informing them that flogging of women and the use of the whip in the field must end. In Jamaica, the House of Assembly talked violently about the interference of the Imperial Parliament, but did nothing. In Barbadoes the slave-holding party rioted, and Mr. Shrewsbury, a missionary, who was supposed to have sent home statements derogatory to the white men in the colony, only saved his life by speedy

¹ Hansard, xiii. 142.
VOL. II.

² Eldon, vol. ii. p. 554.
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1823. flight. In Demerara alone did the Court of Policy obey the orders in the circular. Unfortunately the negroes heard that a command to set them free had arrived from England and that this was to be disobeyed. They then rose in revolt and seized and imprisoned many of the whites. Indeed, it is probable that some would have been killed but for the influence of a missionary, John Smith, who had trained his flock for seven years in habits of industry and obedience. The Governor at once put the colony under martial law for five months, and imprisoned Mr. Smith on the charge of inciting the slaves to rise. The unfortunate man was then condemned to death, but the sentence was altered by the British Government to that of banishment from the colony. Before the reprieve arrived, however, the over-zealous missionary had died in his unsanitary prison.

At this date smuggling on the south coast was at its height. The Berlin Decrees and the Orders in Council were directly responsible for the increase in these methods of evading the law. Lace, gloves, and jewellery were smuggled from France in fishermen's boots or were sewed into ladies' petticoats, while on dark nights casks of brandy were landed and stored in caves under the white cliffs. On the other side of the Channel heavy woollen goods were at the same time introduced with far more labour and at greater risk into the towns. The loss to the country was great, and the cost of the coastguard still greater, for over fifty revenue cutters with a large force of officers carried on a ceaseless war against the smugglers.

Still the country was prosperous, and the demand rose for agricultural produce. Wheat realised 62s. on an average during the year, and cotton, woollen, and iron manufactures thrived.¹ The immediate result was a rapid growth of Joint-Stock Companies, which were now becoming a prominent feature in the commercial machine. At the same time the working-men agitated for higher wages, but their demands were not regulated to any great extent by the Trades Unions, at present only partially developed. They had therefore

¹ The exports in 1823 were of the value of £34,589,410, and the imports £36,056,551. The revenue had been estimated at £57,000,000, but realised £672,999 more, while the expenses were less.

no means of showing their discontent in a quiet orderly manner, and resorted to rioting with violence. At Macclesfield strikers and red-coats collided with disastrous effect. The unfortunate artisan was indeed crushed between the hammer of the law and the anvil of the Trades Union. He was not permitted to riot, and only allowed to work for such a number of hours as his fellow-workmen approved. The laws regulating labour were most unsatisfactory. Many statutes related to the subject and to the common privileges of individuals. These affected the status and rights of both employer and workman to the advantage of the former, for the latter were not permitted to combine. Suddenly these laws were repealed and the masters and men left to fight out the question for themselves. The chaos of restriction was followed by the chaos of freedom. At once monstrous combinations arose, and during the last six months of 1824 work was paralysed in Glasgow and its neighbourhood. Willing or unwilling, the men were forced to leave the factories by their fellows. Mr. Huskisson therefore in the session of 1825 moved for a Committee to reconsider the action of Parliament. A new measure was passed in the place of the Repealing Act of 1824, which permitted masters and workmen to meet together and arrange the rate of wages and hours of labour, but punished by the common law any attempt to control employers by violence.¹

An extremely useful Bill of this session was one regulating Weights and Measures as far as possible by natural standards. It is, however, a great pity that the opportunity was not taken to arrange for a decimal system of coinage and general measurement.

Prosperity in the country was now at its meridian. In every class of society the standard of living was higher than it had ever been before. Farmers, merchants, and manufacturers reaped golden harvests. Bankers issued notes all over the country to such an extent that in 1825 there was from 30 to 40 per cent. more paper in circulation than in 1822. The Bank of England lowered its rate, and money was so abundant that it was difficult to know where to

¹ See Huskisson's speeches, Porter's "Progress of the Nation." Hansard, vol. xi. p. 812.

1824, invest it. Hundreds of joint-stock enterprises were at once promoted. It mattered not what was the presumed object of the company—to build railways or make bread, to cut canals or wash linen, to brew beer or haul coal—the public rushed to buy shares. In the session of 1825, 428 private Bills were brought before Parliament, and of these 286 became Acts.¹ Members of the House of Commons were as much affected by the gambling mania as the rest of the people. Steady tradesmen who for years had carefully invested their savings in Government stock, suddenly joined in schemes of the wildest nature. The fabled mineral wealth of the South American States, now declared independent, misled many. Mining companies were formed to obtain gold and silver from places which were so remote that even if the precious metals had been found it would not have paid to work them. Shares rose in some cases to twenty times their par value. Still the credulous public swallowed the highly gilded bait cast by the angling promoter. Even merchants who were unattracted by this form of gambling seem to have lost their ordinary business instincts, and began to pour all manner of unsuitable wares into the new Republics. At Rio Janeiro all the warehouses were crowded from basement to roof, and tons of perishable goods had to be left on the beach.

Through the whole of 1824, and during the early part of 1825, great quantities of gold and silver also were shipped to South America.² Reams of paper were converted into notes, and issued by banks in every part of the country. Men of business grew thoughtful. Still the King in his speech of July 6, 1825, was made to congratulate Parliament on the general and increasing prosperity. This was more apparent than real, for the markets became so glutted with cotton, wine, silk, and other foreign goods that prices began to fall. No returns came from the Andes; the Panama Canal was not constructed; everywhere capital was locked up in enterprises which could not show a profit for years, even if then successful. No ready money was available; the stock in the

¹ *Annual Register*, 1825, p. 121.

² Between June 1824 and October 1825 from ten to twelve millions of coin and bullion were exported. *Edinburgh Review*, vol. xlv. p. 92.

Bank was getting low, and discount rates rose rapidly. A few small trading firms failed, larger ones followed suit, many country banks could not meet their notes, and finally the great house of Sir Peter Pole & Company ceased payment on December 5th. Williams & Company and sixty or seventy others promptly followed. The gold reserve of the Bank of England on December 24 amounted only to £420,000 in coin and £601,000 in bullion.¹ Lord Liverpool, Mr. Huskisson, the Governor of the Bank, and Mr. Baring met together, and it was expected that an Order in Council would be issued to stop cash payments.² 1825.

It was, however, decided not to take such a serious but instead to work the Mint at the highest possible rate. Sovereigns were made at the rate of 150,000 per day. At the same time the issue of notes of £1 and £2 was stopped. It was indeed high time, for while from 1821 to 1823 the average value of notes stamped for country bankers had been about four millions a year, in 1825 this amount had been more than doubled. Ministers now proposed that the Bank of England should establish branches in the country, and that notes of small value should be replaced by coins, in order that the poorer people should be first relieved from the effects of the crash. The House of Commons adopted the proposals by 222 votes against 39, and the panic gradually abated.

¹ "History of Prices," Tooke, vol. iv. p. 342.

² Mr. Baring's pamphlet (quoted from "Greville's Memoirs," vol. i. p. 78). "Men of great wealth and parsimonious habits came and placed their whole fortunes at the disposal of their bankers in order to support their credit. For many days the evil continued to augment so rapidly, and the demands upon the Bank were so great and increasing, that a bank restriction was expected by every one."

CHAPTER XXXVIII

INDIA

Conciliatory policy of the Government—Condition of the native states—Attempted revolution in Delhi—Grievance of the Nawab of Oude—Disturbance in the Dekhin—Attitude of the Mahratta rulers—Lord Minto appointed Governor-General—Mutiny at Vellore—War against the Rajas of Bundelkhand—Guerilla warfare of Gopal Sing—Intrigue of Ranjit Sing—The Sikh war—Missions to Persia and Afghanistan—Designs of Napoleon on India—Suppression of piracy in the Persian Gulf—Capture of the Isle of Bourbon—British loss at sea—Capture of the Isle of France—Lord Moira becomes Governor-General—Legal reforms—Renewal of the Charter of the East India Company—The Nepal war—Defeat of the Gorkhas—Results of the war—Affairs in Ceylon—Warfare in the north—The Dekhin army—Defeat of the Pindaris—Defeat of Apa Sahab—Holkar forced to cede territory—Surrender of Baji Rao.

1805. THE greater portion of the territory on the west of the Jumna which had been won from the Mahrattas was at once relinquished by Lord Cornwallis and Sir George Barlow, but on the south-west the extensive province of Bundelkhand was permanently annexed to the Presidency of Bengal. This district was ceded by the Peshwa to the Company instead of paying a subsidy for an annual levy of troops. Military adventurers swarmed to the spot, hoping to support themselves and their followers by extorting money from the peaceful inhabitants and by plundering those who resisted. For this purpose organised bands of robbers occupied many of the small forts which existed in the country, and also held two strongholds of remarkable position and strength, Ajaygerh and Kalinjar. Desolation and alarm spread throughout the neighbourhood. One decisive blow would have crushed the bandits, but the Government wished to conciliate them, and, in spite of the advice of Lord Lake, the Commander-in-chief, the usurpers were left in their fortresses.¹ Western Bundelkhand was, however, given to the Rajas of Dattea, Tehri and Samp-

¹ "History of British India," Mill and Wilson, vol. vii. p. 18.

thar, who were recognised as independent princes bound to the British by treaties of alliance.

1806.
Decem-
ber.

The condition of the more important native states was now as follows: the ruling powers were to a great extent Hindu, and were divided into Mahrattas, Rajputs, Jâts, and Sikhs. Extensive territories were, however, still governed by the descendants of the Mohammedan conquerors of India who, with few exceptions, were dependent upon the British Government either as pensioners or as allies. At the head of the former class was the Great Mogul, the descendant and representative of Timurlang.

The King of Delhi, Shah Alem, died on December 18, 1806, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Akbar the Second, who at first attempted to assert his position as Great Mogul by presenting a cloak to the Governor-General, the acceptance of which would have been an admission of inferiority. It was an ingenious little plot, and might have succeeded if the English had not known of the custom. The cloak was, of course, politely returned. Akbar the Second had several sons, of whom the eldest was considered by the British to be the heir-apparent; the king, however, influenced by his favourite queen, wished to be succeeded by his third son, Mirza Jehangir, of whom she was the mother. The Government of Bengal having refused to gratify this wish, Mirza Jehangir, who had been spoilt by his fond mother, collected a body of armed retainers, and created so much discomfort and alarm within the palace that his parents asked the Company to allow their Sipahis to mount guard at the outer gates. Jehangir demanded they should be withdrawn, and when the British Resident, Mr. Seton, advanced to remonstrate, he was fired at and narrowly escaped being struck. The Sipahis were then ordered to take possession of the inner gates, and the followers of the Prince were dispersed. He himself submitted to the Resident, and was sent a state prisoner to Allahabad, where he lived in indolence until his death. The king then became resigned to his fate, and, as he did not interfere with the Government, was granted an increased pension by Lord Minto.

At this time the Nawab of Oude was by no means satis-

1808.
December.

fied with his bonds, and had several grievances. Still he was pleased to accept the aid of the Company's troops when he wished to collect his rents. Sekander Jah Nizam of the Dekhin, another subsidiary ally of the Company, was also a source of anxiety, but had the good sense to remain friendly to the British. He had, however, a favourite, Raja Mahipat Ram, a Hindoo, who was more pugnacious, and collected a force of 5000 horse to attack his brother feudatories. The Resident remonstrated and compelled the Nizam to send troops against his vassal. They were, however, defeated, and it became necessary to send a stronger force. Colonel Montresor therefore took the field, and drove the Raja from Shahpur into the territory of Holkar. Here the bulk of his followers deserted him, and he was attacked by a party of Dharma Koars' troops and killed. When the Minister of the Nizam, Mir Alem, died on January 8, 1809, a successor was appointed who was wise enough to shelter under the English flag, and the connection with Hyderabad was established on a firmer footing than ever.

British control over the Gaekwar of Guzerat, which was begun by the Marquis Wellesley, was continued by Sir George Barlow; but the Bengal Government with inexplicable timidity failed to collect the rents due to him from his tributaries in Kattiwar, who occupied the whole of the peninsular of Guzerat. This policy was now reversed, and the tax was gathered by a force under Major Walker.

The other Mahratta rulers were friendly, especially the Raja of Berar, who admitted a British Resident to his Court, but was very jealous because he had not been treated as well as Holkar and Sindhia. The Company now relinquished the countries of Sambhalpur and Patna, which were merely extensive tracts of jungles, while the few people who inhabited them were given the opportunity to migrate to Cuttack. This they did not do, and were therefore forced to submit to the hated Mahratta rule. Another treaty now concluded with Sindhia permitted him to hold within the British possessions certain districts which had been granted to him by the King of Delhi, and also arranged to pay him a small sum of money. Holkar had been treated with such liberality that he misunderstood the motive of the

Company and indulged in dreams of once more uniting the *Mahratta confederacy*. Thinking the English wished to buy his allegiance, he advanced in insulting language new and unreasonable claims, and plundered the petty chiefs whom the British Government professed to protect. Soon after he became subject to fits of melancholia and mental disease, which lasted until his death three years later. 1806.
July.

This conciliatory policy, indeed, did not create much respect for British arms. Still it enabled the Company to augment and husband their resources while the native princes frittered away their means by continual fighting. Thus the way was prepared for a further extension of British power. Sir George Barlow, indeed, was so successful in placing finances on a firm basis that when Lord Minto assumed office in 1807 he found a system arranged which showed a surplus in the first year.

At the same time the administration of justice was improved. A Provincial Court was established for civil cases, many police reforms were introduced, and the Company's judicial and revenue laws were imposed in the newly-acquired territories in the Doab and Bundelkhand. These peaceful reforms were disturbed by a mutiny which broke out at Vellore, the fortress in which the children of Tippoo Sultan lived. Without any warning on the 10th of July 1806 the European garrison was attacked and many of the officers killed. Help was speedily sent from Arcot, the gates were blown in, and after three or four hundred of the mutineers had been slain the fort was recaptured. In the prolonged inquiry which followed it was found that the soldiers were discontented with their dress and accoutrements. "The essential and mainspring of the mutiny was religious principle, although the occurrence was influenced in the manner and season of its development by incidental and local excitement."¹ A new pattern for a turban and a new shape for a jacket were supposed by the Sipahis to indicate an attempt to convert them to Christianity. That the presence of the Tippoo family acted as an exciting cause is probably true, but that the mutiny was not of a political character aroused by those princes was ascer-

¹ Mill and Wilson, vol. vii. p. 127.

1806. tained beyond a doubt. The responsibility for enforcing the
July. objectionable new dress was shared between the military and civil rulers, Lord William Bentinck and Sir John Cradock. Both of these officials were therefore recalled by the Court of Directors. Although the policy adopted by Lord Minto was essentially one of peace and development, it was soon found to be necessary to reduce by force the petty Rajas of Bundelkhand and the banditti who occupied the principal fortresses. The province of Bundelkhand, for the most part a plain, is encompassed on its southern and south-eastern confines by portions of the great Vindhya chain of hills, which stretches across India from the Ganges to the Gulf of Cambay. Two elevations in the most northerly range had been converted into strong forts named Kalinjar and Ajaygerh. Lakshman Dawa had become possessed of the latter and was allowed to retain it, and to hold in Jagir the adjacent lands in return for a small payment of tribute. As this had never been forthcoming, Colonel Martindell with a body of troops and guns was sent against the place. After a breach had been made in the walls Lakshman Dawa surrendered, but begged to be reinstated. Mr. Richardson, the British Agent, refused his request, and he then made a secret journey to Calcutta and petitioned the Governor-General. No hope being held out to him there, he endeavoured to return to Bundelkhand, but was stopped and taken back to Calcutta, where he was detained until his death.

Far more trouble was caused by a military adventurer named Gopal Sing, who had usurped the district of Kotra, the inheritance of Raja Bakht Sing. A British detachment was sent to put the Raja in possession, and this was easily accomplished. Colonel Martindell's force was then removed and the districts were left in the care of the Rajas of Panna and Kotra. Gopal Sing then advanced again and completely defeated their armies. Strong British forces were therefore sent against the skilful guerilla chieftain, but he could never be brought to a decisive action. He indeed repeatedly escaped when overpowered, only to return some time later and renew the contest. At length after four years, weary of the fruitless warfare, the British Government listened to

his overtures for peace, and on February 24, 1812, granted him a Jagir of eighteen villages in the district of Panwari in Bundelkhand. It now remained to reduce Kalinjar, and on January 19, 1812, the fort was invested. Breaches were made and an assault attempted on February 2nd, which was unsuccessful. Nevertheless the garrison lost so heavily that the chieftain accepted on the next day the terms he had previously refused.

A policy of peace would have been advantageous to the Company at this date. Events made it impossible and hastened on the next campaign, which was destined to add greatly to British supremacy and to advance the frontier to the left bank of the Sutlej. The Sikh chief, Ranjit Sing, had been encouraged by his success on the west of the river to endeavour to gain a sphere of influence on the east side also as far as the Jumna. An opportunity soon presented itself. A quarrel took place between the Rajas of Patiala and Naba, and the latter called Ranjit Sing to his assistance. Before affording any help Ranjit considered that it was advisable to propitiate the British, and with the childish cunning of the Eastern character wrote a letter in which he expressed his profound respect for the Government. He then crossed and recrossed the Sutlej twice, which so alarmed the Rajas that they applied to the Company for protection. Ranjit then wrote to the Governor-General as follows: "The country on this side of the Jumna, except the station occupied by the English, is subject to my authority. Let it remain so."¹ Lord Minto was faced by a difficult problem. He was anxious to include Ranjit in the scheme of defensive alliance against the hostile designs of Napoleon on India, but could not sanction such a demand. He therefore took refuge in diplomatic inaction, and no reply was sent to Ranjit until 1808, when Mr. Metcalfe journeyed to his camp at Kasur. The Sikh leader being very anxious to show the Rajas on the coast of the Sutlej that the British favoured his plans, hastily broke up his camp, crossed the river, seized the ford of Farid Koth, captured Ambala, and exacted tribute from the Rajas of Shahabad and Thanesar. Lord Minto was now obliged to take action, for

¹ "History of British India," Mill and Wilson, vol. vii. p. 197.

1809. the Rajas between the two rivers were under British protection. Ranjit was ordered to restore the territory he had taken, and when he violently objected the British Government advanced troops. A detachment under Colonel Ochterlony crossed the Jumna in January 1809 and proceeded to Ludiana, while General St. Leger was held in readiness to support the advance should it be necessary. The Sikh troops fell back before them, and Ranjit concluded a treaty on April 25th which limited his territory and sphere of influence to the south of the Sutlej. The help thus given to the petty chiefs between the Jumna and the Sutlej was followed by a declaration that the territories of the Sirhind and Malua had been taken under British protection. No tribute was exacted, but the chiefs were told that they must aid the movements of British troops through their countries.

The power of Napoleon at this date was very great and his intentions towards the East well known. It was therefore deemed necessary to establish friendly relations both with Persia and Afghanistan. Nothing was known of the latter country except that the eastern portion, including Kabul and Ghazni, had usually been subject to Delhi, and that the western part, comprising Kandahar and Herat, had been generally ruled by Persia. After the murder of Nadir Shah, King of Persia, Ahmed Shah, a prominent general in the Persian army, founded a kingdom extending from the Indus to Herat, but on the death of his son the monarchy collapsed. A régime of intrigue, murder, and rebellion followed, and Shah Shuja was on the throne when the British decided to conclude a treaty with Afghanistan. The embassy to Kabul was fitted out in a manner to impress the native mind, and was commanded by Mr. Elphinstone, whose knowledge of the people and language rendered him a singularly happy choice. At first the Shah could not be persuaded that any advantage would accrue to him from an alliance with the Company, which seemed to him to be sought only to protect British India. He, however, speedily discovered who were his best friends, for his army was soon after defeated by Mahmud, the late Shah, who then occupied Kandahar and threatened Peshawar. He therefore applied

to the British for funds to purchase the allegiance of the chiefs, and in this was warmly supported by the envoy. There were, however, now reasons for a change of policy on the part of the British Government. 1809.

Napoleon was so deeply engaged in the Peninsula that it was impossible that his Eastern dreams should be realised, and an alliance with Persia and Afghanistan was useless. The application was therefore refused, but a treaty was arranged by which the Shah agreed to oppose the march of the French and Persians across Afghanistan if they appeared.

The treaty was, however, never ratified, for before it could be sent to Calcutta and back, Elphinstone was recalled, and the Shah's army was so completely routed by Fatih Khan that he never recovered his throne. Instead, a treaty was signed with Sindh on August 23, 1809, in which it was agreed that the French should not be allowed to establish themselves in that country, and that a British agent should be appointed to the Court.

Of far greater importance were the negotiations with Persia, which were commenced by Sir Harford Jones at Teheran on February 14, 1809, and continued by Sir Gore Ouseley. It was then agreed that in return for military aid the Shah of Persia should not allow any European force to march through his country towards India. The treaty, however, was not finally ratified until 1814. For some time past the Persian Gulf had been infested by a band of pirates who lived on the shore of the south-eastern province of Arabia. Of the several tribes who engaged in this nefarious business the Joasmis were the most violent and cruel, and their captives were only given the choice of embracing the faith of Islam or instant death. For many years the pirates refrained from attacking English ships, but in 1808 the *Sylph*, a small vessel having on board the native Persian secretary of Sir Harford Jones, was attacked and captured. A British frigate, the *Vereide*, was actually in sight at the time, and the pirate was speedily sunk and the prize recaptured. Next year the *Minerva*, a large merchant ship, was carried by boarding, and every male Christian was murdered. It was determined, therefore, to send an expedi-

1809.
Septem-
ber.

tion to Ras-al-Khaima, the chief port of the Joasmis, and punish them severely. The town was built on a low sandy peninsula, and the water in front was so shallow that the war vessels could not approach near enough to destroy it with shot. It was therefore necessary to land a force and give battle to the pirates, who fought so long and stubbornly that 400 were killed before the town was captured and burnt.

The maritime trade of India had suffered considerably throughout the war at the hands of French cruisers which issued from the islands of Mauritius and Bourbon, although a powerful British naval armament existed in the Indian Ocean. Still, the Government at home were unwilling that the Company should incur the expense of an attack on the islands. At length the pecuniary losses from captured ships and the cost of convoy became so intolerably heavy that the small island of Rodriguez was occupied as a base, and magazines and stores were collected in readiness for a campaign.

In September 1809 an expedition of five ships of war sailed to the Isle of Bourbon, where they arrived on the 20th, and landed 600 men without being observed. After some resistance St. Pierre was captured, and the blockaded ships in the harbour were forced to surrender.¹ This success attained by so small an armament encouraged the Company to attempt the complete reduction of the French islands, and in 1810 a reinforcement of 1600 Europeans and as many native troops were conveyed to Colonel Keating at Rodriguez. As he intended to proceed first against St. Denis, he sailed to the northern coast and distributed his forces into four brigades. The first was under the command of Colonel Fraser, and the other three were led by Colonel Keating himself. On July 7th the landing was commenced, but only a part of the force had reached the shore when a storm arose. It was not, therefore, until the next day that the whole army could be removed from the ships. Colonel Fraser then advanced against the enemy and rushed their position with the point of the bayonet. The French repeatedly attempted to form behind the parapet of their redoubt, but were pushed so closely that they were

¹ James' "Naval History of Great Britain," vol. v. p. 197.

unable to regain a footing. At four o'clock, therefore, in the afternoon a flag of truce was sent out of the town, and Colonel St. Susanne surrendered the whole island to the British. This great success, attained at the cost of eighteen men killed and fifty-nine wounded, was unfortunately followed by a series of naval disasters. The attack on Bourbon had been carried on without any attempt at rescue from the Isle of France, for the principal French ships were absent; but in an action against the fleet in the harbour of Grand Port the British lost heavily, and were compelled to abandon and burn two of their ships, the *Nereide* and the *Magicienne*. The *Iphigenia* with the surviving crews managed to get back to the Isle de la Passe, and the troops were landed, but it was a case of out of the water into the furnace, for the force was at once surrounded by vastly superior numbers and compelled to surrender to the commodore of the French squadron, Captain Hamelin. The fortune of war was, however, reversed by Commodore Rowley, who put to sea on September 12th and captured three French ships. Shortly afterwards Vice-Admiral Bertie in the *Nisus* frigate arrived from the Cape of Good Hope, and in eleven days was able to set sail with a well manned and equipped squadron. More ships and troops from India under Rear-Admiral Drury and General Abercrombie joined him, and it was decided to attack at once the Isle of France. On November 29th the whole of the fleet came to anchor in Grand Bay, and the force was landed without opposition. The five brigades into which Abercrombie's little army of 11,000 men was divided were commanded by Colonels Picton, Gibbs, Kelso, Macleod, and Keating, and were opposed by about 2000 Europeans under General Decaen. The force marched towards Port Louis under a blazing sun and with a very scanty supply of water. On the 31st the enemy were met, and at once attacked in such a spirited fashion that they left their guns and fled. The victory was not an expensive one, but Colonel Campbell of the 12th Regiment paid for his valour with his life. St. Louis was soon reached and the army arranged for an assault, while the squadron prepared to bombard the town from the sea; but as resistance was evidently useless, General Decaen surrendered

1810.
July.

1811. the Isle of France to the British General.¹ Bourbon was restored to France at the peace, but the Isle of France, or the Mauritius, as it was originally called, has always remained a British colony.

During this year the Dutch settlements in the Molucca islands were also captured, and, after heavy fighting, Java and its dependencies were surrendered at the end of 1811. This left the Eastern seas without an enemy to molest the merchant vessels of the British Empire. At the peace of 1814 Java was ceded to the newly-established monarchy of Holland, but did not reassume the character of a Dutch colony until the end of 1816, four years after it had been conquered.

Peace reigned in India for some years, but it became apparent in 1812 that hostilities would be necessary both in the north and the south. The Court of Nepaul claimed territory within the Company's boundaries, and allowed its subjects to commit outrages which could no longer be tolerated. An insurrection in the province of Aracan called forth strong protests from the British, and the King of Burma answered in an arrogant tone. In the west the banditti known as Pindaris violated the boundaries and advanced to the city of Mirzapore with intent to plunder. For the present, however, only temporary steps were taken to stop these raids. In Hyderabad the military contingent, which the Nizam was bound to furnish, was raised to more than 12,000 trained men, while the Peshwa also assented to form a disciplined brigade under British officers.

The Nawab of Oude was now strenuously urged to adopt several much-needed reforms which had been agreed upon in a treaty signed in 1801. He, however, did nothing but profess great regard for the advice of the British Government. When at the commencement of 1812 he was asked for troops to put down a revolt, he declined to furnish them, and it became apparent that he was either unwilling or unable to stop the outrages and robberies committed on the British frontiers by marauding gangs from Oude. Lord Minto therefore insisted in 1813 that the reforms should be at once carried into effect. No great result, however, fol-

¹ James' "Naval History," vol. v. p. 326.

lowed before the Government of India passed into the hands 1813.
of Lord Moira.

For a considerable time before the advent of British rule, the Mohammedan and Hindu Governments had no regularly organised system of law and justice. The first effect of the opening of law courts was a curious one. Every person who had a real or imagined wrong to redress crowded to the courts, and the number of suitors became so large that the machinery of justice could not deal with all the cases. Arrears therefore became numerous, and decisions so long delayed as to amount to a virtual denial of justice. Few native judges had as yet been employed, for great prejudice existed against them, and it was very doubtful if they would be just. Measures were, however, founded by Lord Minto, and advanced by his successor, which reformed the whole system of justice, and greatly improved the police arrangements throughout the territories of the Company. The land system was altered, the revenue laws in Bengal were improved, and new taxes levied in Madras. Lord Minto, indeed, must be regarded as a successful if not a brilliant ruler, who laboured conscientiously to promote the happiness and welfare of the people of India, and the honour and advantage of Great Britain. In spite of this he was replaced by Lord Moira, a personal friend of the Regent's, who had proved himself a willing if unsuccessful servant in the past, and had not yet been rewarded for his services. The new Governor-General was also created Commander-in-Chief in India, in the place of Sir George Nugent, while General Abercrombie was removed from his command at Fort St. George and made Governor of Madras. These appointments were made in November 1812, but Lord Moira did not assume his robes of office until October in the following year. The Imperial Parliament and the people in England were too deeply engaged in the affairs of the continent of Europe to give much thought to the proceedings of the East India Company. Still there was a growing discontent with the system of monopoly, and a desire for greater freedom of trade. The whole subject was therefore debated in the House of Commons on March 22, 1813. The Government did not intend to alter the system unless they were forced to

1813. do so, and wished to renew the charter which was granted to the Company in 1793. They were, however, willing to permit merchants of Great Britain to trade with India under certain conditions. In May the debate was resumed, and amongst those who opposed the grant of a charter of monopoly to the Company was Mr. Canning, who reminded his hearers that the power of the Imperial Parliament was above the sovereign right claimed by the Company over the territory conquered by them. The main question was, however, whether private traders should be admitted to India, and after lengthy discussion in Parliament, an Act was passed which limited the privileges the Company had now enjoyed for two centuries.¹

Immediately Lord Moira arrived in India he was confronted with a war which could no longer be safely delayed. The kingdom of Nepaul extended for a distance of more than seven hundred miles along the northern frontiers of the British possessions, and was ruled by the tribe of Gorkha, which had repeatedly encroached on the districts subject to the Presidency of Bengal. A dispute now arose over some lands in the British provinces of Saran and Gorakhpur, which had been exacted from the Nawab of Oude twelve years before. An attempt was made to compromise, but it speedily became apparent that the Gorkha Commissioners did not intend to agree to a friendly settlement. It was therefore necessary to hold the villages on the Saran frontier, and to send a military detachment into Bhotwal and Sheoraj. As the Nepaulese authorities retired before the troops and offered no resistance, the Government then withdrew the military from the disputed lands, and left only some armed police at the frontier station. This proved to be a great mistake, for on May 29, 1814, a party of Gorkhas, under the command of the late Governor of the district, attacked the post and overpowered the defenders. This outrage deserved instant punishment, but an opportunity was given to the Raja to explain. He, however, only wrote an arrogant and threatening letter to the Governor-General, and war was then inevitable. It was decided to advance along the Kali

¹ Hansard Debates, vol. xxv. pp. 471, 518, 825, 1117; xxvi. pp. 366, 407, 487, 596, 923.

River, which divided the Gorkha possessions into two, and to 1814.
send one force into the western half of the country, and another against the eastern districts into the valley of Nepaul. Major-General Ochterlony, with 6000 men, was to proceed westward, while Major-General Gillespie, with half that number, besieged Jytak, the principal fortress in the province of Gerhwal. A third division of 4500 troops, under General John Sullivan Wood, was to advance through the long-disputed districts of Bhotwal and Sheoraj to Palpa, and a force of 8000 men, under Major-General Marley, was instructed to make directly for Khatmandu. Local corps were told off to defend the rest of the British frontier, and the total force under arms was 30,000 men with sixty guns. Against this formidable array the Gorkhas could only muster about 12,000 regular troops and some levies of militia. Gillespie's division assembled at Saharanpur on October 18th, and proceeded by the Timli Pass into the valley of the Dún. The Gorkhas fell back to Kalang, a fort which was strongly posted on a steep hill covered with jungle. The garrison refused to surrender, and the place was assaulted on the 31st. General Gillespie led the storming party, but was shot dead; and the Gorkhas arranged their gun-fire so successfully that the attack had to be abandoned. It was indeed obvious that the British ordnance was not powerful enough to make a breach, and Colonel Mawbey, upon whom the command devolved, decided to wait until a battering-train could be sent from Delhi. When this arrived a hole was blown through the wall, and again the dark soldiers raced to the goal, and again they were driven back. The place was too strong to be pierced; it was therefore engirdled and bombarded. Shot and shell rained into the fort, and soon the commandant, Balbhadra Sing, secretly evacuated the stronghold with the tenth of his garrison which had survived.

Mawbey now marched into the valley of Karda in order to help Colonel Ochterlony, but on December 20th he was joined by Major-General Martindell, who took over the command. After occupying the town of Nahan, the capital of Sirmor, Martindell moved against the fort of Jytak, which was placed strongly on a high peak. The place was assaulted in front with great gallantry, but the stockades were too

1815. strong and the English officers too few to keep the native troops steady. The attack therefore was not a success.

Farther to the west, the most famous of the Gorkha leaders, Omar Sing Thapa, had taken his stand in the angle formed by the Sutlej River, where it turns from a westerly to a southerly course. On the hills on the left bank of the stream the Gorkha general had constructed stone forts, the approaches to which were rendered extremely arduous by the steepness and irregularity of the ground. Ochterlony proceeded to erect, with great labour, batteries against the chief fort, Ramgerh, but afterwards decided to threaten the Gorkha communications and thus force Omar Sing to withdraw. This was successfully done, and the army was then collected on the ridge of Malaun. In the meantime Major-General J. S. Wood, whose division was destined for the district of Palpa beyond Bhotwal, decided to reconnoitre the stockade of Jitpur in order to advance that way and thus avoid the difficult mountain pass which was on the direct line of march. He therefore detached seven companies to turn the left flank of the enemy, and then proceeded with three times that number to make a frontal and right attack. At first success attended his efforts, but seeing that the thickets at the back of the stockades afforded such excellent cover for the Gorkhas that it would be impossible to hold them, he ordered a retreat and remained on the defensive. The whole success of the campaign thus rested upon the division which was marching on the Gorkha capital. The troops were assembled at Dinapore, and commenced their journey towards Bettia on November 23. On the next day Major Bradshaw, who commanded the force on the frontier of Saran, was engaged at Barharwa, where Parsuram Thapa, the Governor of the district, was encamped with four hundred men. These were surprised and completely routed, leaving their commander dead on the field. The posts of Baragerhi and Parsa were then quickly occupied, and it was proclaimed that the tract known as the Tirai had been annexed by the British.

The main body then marched to Pachraota, which was reached on December 12, and halted until the battering-train arrived. Meanwhile the Gorkhas attacked and defeated the outposts at Samanpur and Parsa, which had

been foolishly left unsupported. These disasters depressed the troops, and so many deserted that General Marley commenced a retreat to the westward. Towards the end of February Major-General George Wood assumed the command, and on the 20th of that month a victory revived the drooping spirits of the army. A small force of men under Major Latter, who had been fighting in the Saran district, also met with considerable success, and formed an alliance with a hill chief, the Raja of Sikim. Colonel Gardner, an officer of merit, who had distinguished himself in the service of the Raja Jaypur, was now chosen to advance against the Gorkhas, and succeeded in driving them back to the ridge on which stands the town of Almora. At the same time Captain Hearsay entered the province of Kamaon by the Timli Pass near the Gogra River, and these advantages were added to by Colonel Nicolls, who joined the troops before Almora on the 8th of April. The hill was now seriously and resolutely attacked, while the Gorkhas made a stout resistance, but gradually their endurance was worn down and they retired, leaving the town undefended. The Court of Nepal was now fairly beaten, and the provinces of Kamaon and Gerhwal were ceded and permanently annexed to the British territories. 1815.

In the west Martindell remained encamped opposite the fort of Jytak until the garrison was starved out, a result which was hastened by the success of Ochterlony against Omar Sing. The scattered Gorkhas' posts being now reduced, Ochterlony decided to cut the enemy's communication between the two forts Surajgerh and Malaun. The British camp was therefore pitched at Battoh on the river Gamrora between the two forts. On the ridge connecting them were two points called Ryla and Deothal which seemed to be pregnable. They were therefore gallantly attacked and captured by Sipahis. Great efforts were at once made to regain them, but without avail, and when on May 8th a battery had opened on the principal redoubt of Malaun, the Gorkha garrison, now thoroughly demoralised, marched out and surrendered. Omar Sing remained in the fort, but on the following day asked for a parley, and agreed to cede all the Gorkhas' possessions on the west of the Jumna and to

1815. evacuate Gerhwal. Omar Sing, Ranjor Sing, and the members of the Thapa family were then allowed to return to Nepaul with their private property and military effects, but most of the troops were taken into the British service and have since proved to be excellent soldiers, particularly when employed in hill campaigns.

The Governor of Nepaul now sued for peace. Bam Sah Chautra was empowered to treat with the British agent in Kamaon, and Gaj Raj Misr was sent to Colonel Bradshaw. The Company demanded that all claims on the hill Rajas west of the Kali River should be relinquished, that the whole of the Tirai or plains at the foot of the hills along the Gorkha frontier should be ceded, that the districts wrested from Sikim Raja should be restored to him, and that a British Resident should be admitted to Khatmandu. All these terms were agreed to except the cession of the Tirai, for the Gorkha war party headed by Omar Sing Thapa still prevailed in the Councils of Nepaul. More hostilities were therefore necessary, and by the beginning of February Sir David Ochterlony assembled seventeen thousand men and marched to the foot of the Chiriaghati Pass, which was now defended by successive tiers of strong stockades. Marching through the pass in single file, he advanced his force on February 27th to the fortified heights of Makwanpur, and encamped two miles to the south. Here a most severe action was fought for five hours, and neither side ceased their efforts until the Nepaulese had lost five hundred men and the British half that number.

On the following day the attack was renewed and maintained with vigour until the fort was abandoned by the commandant, Ranjor Sing Thapa, the same chief who had so gallantly defended the fort of Jytak in the previous campaign.

News now arrived from the Court of Nepaul that the treaty had been ratified, but the Company now insisted that all the country actually conquered in the campaign and the valley of the Rapti should be ceded as well as the Tirai. Peace was then made, and the campaign which had opened so badly closed with honour and glory, while the native troops, who at first tarnished their reputation, in the end added to its lustre at the battles at Malaun and Makwanpur.

The results of the war were, indeed, very important. The 1796. barrier hills to the north, the Himalayas, were now commanded by the Company, and the path across them into Central Asia opened. Still, as usual, the statesmen who planned the campaign were criticised severely at home, and the commercial men who directed the Company grumbled at the amount of money spent. The main result, however, was that the safety and supremacy of British rule in India were ensured, and the way paved for a further access of power at a future date.

Ceylon, as previously narrated, was captured from the Dutch in 1796, and two years later was added to the colonial dominions of the British Crown, Mr. Frederick North being appointed the first Governor.

The European settlers were not welcomed by the Kings of Kandy, but were protected to a certain extent from them by the deadly atmosphere of the belt of forests between the interior of the island and the coast. The King, however, sided with the English against the Dutch, but died shortly afterwards. He was succeeded by a relative, who was placed upon the throne by the chief minister with the consent of the other officers of state, the priests of Buddha, and the people. Soon after the same minister plotted to depose his master and to usurp the throne himself, and sought the aid of the British to further his designs. This was refused, and a mission was sent under the command of General Macdowal to Kandy to protect the King if necessary, and to discover the nature of the plot. He was received civilly but coldly, and with evident suspicion. In the meantime reports reached Colombo that the villagers on the frontier were arming, and Mr. North therefore decided to make war on the King unless he agreed to certain terms and allowed a military road to be built from Colombo to Trincomalee. The only reply to this request was a series of raids into British territory, and the plunder and murder of some of the inhabitants. A force was then sent to Kandy, which was at once deserted and fired by the Cingalese. The flames were, however, speedily extinguished and the place occupied. A new sovereign was then brought forward named Mutu-sami, who was a brother of the late Queen, and a treaty was con-

1803. cluded with him by which certain territories were ceded to England.

The new monarch was, however, not a success, and jungle fever had laid low most of the Europeans, when they were attacked on June 24th by the Cingalese in immense numbers headed by the late King and his minister. Major Davie in command of a feeble force fought bravely for seven hours, but was then obliged to capitulate and to evacuate Kandy. The next day the King demanded that Mutu-sami should be given up, and after some hesitation this was done. The whole force was then conveyed in small parties to the edge of the river and butchered one by one, their bodies being thrown into a hollow in the neighbourhood. This barbarous act was followed by the murder of all the sick who had been left at Kandy, after it had been promised that they should be properly treated. The King now waxed ambitious to expel the Europeans from the island altogether, and during 1803 and the next year many attempts were made to penetrate into the British colony. These were answered by several spirited advances into the Kandyan kingdom. In 1805 the King became indisposed and hostilities ceased for several years, but his minister, Pilame Talawc, attempted to arouse a rebellion. After he had been defeated and slain the ferocity and cruelty of the King knew no bounds, and the Governor, Sir Robert Brownrigg, was induced to prepare for war at the urgent request of the new minister, Ahailapalla. Some traders in Kandy were next seized as spies and cruelly mutilated, and Brownrigg at once marched his forces on Kandy. The principal chiefs and people, disgusted with their monarch, joined the English in their triumphal march, and after the King had been deposed readily swore fealty to the British Crown. At first the chiefs and priests submitted quietly to their new rulers, but in 1817 a serious rising was headed and probably caused by Kapitipalla, the brother-in-law of Ahailapalla. Although he was promptly arrested the insurrection was not quelled, and in 1818 most of the Kandyan provinces were in arms against the British, while a Buddhist priest assumed the rôle of pretender to the throne. Troops were sent against the insurgents without success, and the Presidencies of Bengal and Madras

were earnestly asked for reinforcements. A regiment of 1817. Europeans and several battalions of native troops were therefore despatched to Ceylon. The end was, however, near at hand; the country was exhausted with the struggle, the chiefs quarrelled among themselves, the pretender was disavowed, Kapitipalla and Madugalle were tried and beheaded, and Ahailapalla and some other insurgents were banished to the Mauritius. Ceylon then settled down quietly, and the people became reconciled to the justice of British rule.

During the next few years India was very restless. The friendship of the Court of Poona was strained; the Peshwa was uneasy because his claims upon Baroda and Hyderabad had not been satisfied; and the Pindaris ravaged the territories of the Nizam, the Raja of Berar and the Peshwa, and even trespassed on British soil. Mild measures had been proved to be useless, so it was arranged in 1816 to wipe out the whole Pindaris tribe. The countries of their chiefs Karim and Cheetoo were situated in the south of Malwa, and were bounded on the west by the lands of Sindhia, on the north by the territories of Holkar, and on the south by the Nerbudda. Sindhia having promised to co-operate, it was thus possible for the British forces to reach the enemy from either side.

The Bengal forces were arranged in four divisions. The centre was at Cawnpore under the Marquis of Hastings, the Commander-in-Chief, and General Brown; the right, led by Major-General Donkin, was at Agra; the left, commanded by Major-General Marshall, was at Kalinjar in Bundelkhand; the fourth division was commanded by Sir David Ochterlony; and there were also two small bodies, one at Mirzapur and the other on the frontier of South Behar. The whole strength was about 30,000 foot and 14,000 horse, with 140 guns.

The centre division crossed the Jumna and took up a position on the Sindhi River on November 6th, while the right moved to Dholpur, thus threatening both Sindhia and Amir Khan. The left, acting on the western extremity of the Pindari line, was advanced at the same time to Sagar, while the reserve was held for the protection of Delhi. Com-

1817. manded by Sir Thomas Hislop, the army of the Dekhin was distributed into five divisions—the headquarters, the Hyderabad commanded by General Doveton, the third commanded by Sir John Malcolm, the Poona under General Smith, and the Nagpur subsidy led by Colonel Adams. The total numbered 52,000 foot, 18,000 horse, and 62 guns.

While the army was advancing to the fray news arrived from Poona that the Peshwa had attacked the British troops at the village of Kirki, but had been forced to retire. Nevertheless, Hislop thought it desirable to countermarch the divisions which had already crossed the Nerbudda, and set his face southward. Before he had retraced his steps for many days, however, he was ordered by the Marquis of Hastings to keep to the original plan, and he again passed the river on November 30th.

In the meantime Sir John Malcolm had recovered the places which the Pindaris had wrested from Sindhia and the Nawab of Bhopal, and was in touch with Colonel Adams' force. The left division of the main army was at Reili on November 28th, and the three corps had thus by their well-timed movements driven the enemy from his vantage-ground.

It was now discovered that Sindhia was plotting treachery with Holkar. The Government therefore sent him an ultimatum and a draft of a treaty which they required he should sign. At the same time the Marquis of Hastings crossed the Jumna and advanced towards the Sindh, while General Donkin with his force came to anchor on the Chambal. Sindhia, cut off from the Pindaris and the Peshwa, now realised the hopelessness of his cause and signed the treaty. He was thus bound to act with the British against the Pindaris and all freebooters in return for a liberal share of the spoil that should be reaped by success. General Donkin then moved from the Chambal and halted between the Pindaris and Amir Khan, while the reserve of the grand army advanced to Jaypur. The two principal masses of the Khan's troops were then separated by General Ochterlony, and were soon afterwards disbanded. The Pindaris were now chased from the Nerbudda and confined to a narrow region on the western

boundaries of Malwa with numbers reduced to a few scattered, feeble, and dispirited bands.

In the meantime the first and third divisions of the grand army had been engaged in a conflict with the army of the Holkar state. After his accession Apa Saheb had been loyal to the British. The subsidy demanded was, however, heavy, and he soon became tangled in a web of intrigues with Sindhia, the Peshwa, and even the Pindaris. By the end of November affairs seemed serious, for large bodies of Mahrattas were spreading themselves along the plain to the west of the Residency at Nagpur, while on the city side infantry and guns were taking up positions. The whole force at the disposal of the Resident, Mr. Jenkins, was only about 1300 strong, under the command of Colonel Scott. On the 26th two of the Raja's ministers visited Mr. Jenkins, who demanded that the military forces should be withdrawn before any parleying began. Suddenly firing commenced from the Mahratta line, and a vigorous attack was made by Arab mercenaries on the small British force. The moment was critical, when Captain Fitzgerald with three troops of Bengal cavalry charged the mass of the enemy's horsemen and hacked a way through their lines. Then as they fled in confusion their own guns were turned upon them and rained shot into their ranks. Encouraged by this, the Sipahis fell upon the Arabs and drove them in disorder from the field.

Apa Saheb, with the simple Oriental idea of cunning, now sent to express his concern, and declared that the army had acted without his knowledge or consent. This did not satisfy Mr. Jenkins, who refused to negotiate as long as any of his troops remained under arms. A few days afterwards the British were reinforced by the whole of the second division of the Dekhin army under General Doveton. Apa Saheb was then ordered to cede Nagpur temporarily to the Company, to disband his army, to deliver up his ordnance and military stores, and to admit that he only preserved his throne by the forbearance of his new allies. At first he agreed, then on December 16th he hesitated and asked for more time to surrender his ordnance. An ultimatum was therefore sent, and the army arrayed in the plain to the south of Nagpur

1817. opposite his troops. No answer being received by nine o'clock, the appointed hour, the whole force moved forward at the charge, the Mahrattas were routed, and the whole of their artillery of forty-one pieces captured. The Raja was then ordered to cede his territories north of the Nerbudda and all his rights in Berar, Sirguja, Gawil-gerh, and Jaspur, in lieu of the former subsidy and levy, and to agree that his government should be conducted by ministers in the confidence of the Company. At first he was left on his throne, but when it became apparent that he could not be trusted he was removed.

It was now the turn of Holkar, who also had conspired against the English while assuring them of his friendship. He was indeed bound by an oath to his fellow-conspirators to resist the British army. Sir Thomas Hislop therefore left Hernia on December 21st, and discovered the enemy near the town of Mahidpur, where after a severe action they were completely routed. Holkar was then forced to cede land, and was virtually deprived of all independent rule. Such was the fate of the martial dynasty which had always been dreaded throughout the whole of Hindustan. All the Mahratta princes except Sindhia had indeed rushed blindly to their fate, and now were lying prone, heavily punished for their temerity. Still it remained to restore order in some parts of the country, where Roshan Beg and other leaders of the mercenary brigades were at large. For this purpose General Brown advanced to Rampura and easily quelled the disturbance.

While these events were taking place in Central Hindustan the authority of the Peshwa was being crushed by the army of the Dekhin. Although a fugitive, the once formidable Prince was keeping alive the spirit of resistance in a part of the Mahratta country. In December 1817, indeed, he conceived the ambitious project of recovering Poona, and on the 30th arrived at Chakan, within eighteen miles of the capital. Captain Burr, who had been left in command of the city, at once sent for reinforcements from Seroor, and Captain Staunton, with 1000 men, was ordered to march all night to his aid. At about ten o'clock on the following day the whole of the Peshwa's forces, numbering about

20,000 horse and 8000 foot, were discovered near Korigaon. 1818. Staunton therefore decided to occupy the village and make a determined stand. His object was, however, discovered, and the enemy attempted to reach the place first. An exciting race then took place between the rival bodies of infantry, and each succeeded in occupying part of the village. A desperate struggle ensued, and several of the British officers were killed, but, after the fight had lasted all day, the Arabs were driven back with great slaughter. Next day the Peshwa heard that General Smith was near at hand, and fearing to delay longer, advanced with his whole force along the Poona road. Captain Staunton, not knowing that such powerful aid was within call, fell back to Seroor, while Smith hastened to his rescue at Korigaon, but not finding him there, journeyed to Seroor, and after one day's halt followed the trail of the fleeing Peshwa.

The reserve under Pritzler, which had crossed the Krishna early in December and fought a smart action with Baji Rao on January 17th, soon after joined Smith at Sataroon. The fort was summoned, and surrendered without resistance on February 8th, when the flag of the Raja was hoisted. It was now announced to the Mahratta nation that Baji Rao was deposed, and that the Company would annex his territories. It only remained to capture the Peshwa, and he was brought to bay at Ashti, where his troops were put to flight by cavalry charges, and the whole of his baggage captured. He was now ruined in the southern portion of the Mahratta states, and hastily retreated to the north. The successful siege of Belgam and the capture of Sholapur and Raigerh brought the campaign to a close, and the Marquis of Hastings soon after disbanded the noble troops who had dyed the plains of India red with glory that the British flag might wave overhead.

Baji Rao on June 3, 1818, met Sir John Malcolm and, throwing down his sceptre, delivered himself and his family into his generous hands. He was removed to Bithur on the Ganges near to Cawnpore, and allowed £80,000 a year for the remainder of his life. The crushing of his power and the severance of the bonds uniting the Mahratta chiefs

1823. forms a chapter of the greatest importance in the history of modern India. The British territories now extended along the western coast from the northern boundary of Goa to the mouths of the Tapti, and included also the lands of the Holkar Mahrattas in Candeish. A continuous dominion was thus formed between Bombay and Calcutta and Bombay and Madras.

The domestic reforms of the Marquis of Hastings were also so successful that he can fairly be considered a worthy successor of the great proconsuls Clive, Warren Hastings, and Wellesley. On January 1, 1823, he left the Government in peace and prosperity, regretted by all the Indian subjects in the British Empire.

CHAPTER XXXIX

Revolution in ideas—Adam Smith—The birth of realism—Byron and Shelley—Henry Hallam—Ricardo—James Mill—Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Southey—Keats—Jane Austen—Marie Edgeworth—Change in artistic methods—Constable and landscape painting—Turner—Hoppner—Lawrence—Copley—Crome—Foundation of the National Gallery and the Library at the British Museum.

WE must now turn from the clash of arms and the turmoil of politics to the quiet earnestness of the study and the workshop. Revolution, however, affected all. Ideas in the higher arts and literature were assuming new shapes; discoveries in science were conquering old beliefs; and new mechanical devices were changing the daily mode of living.

Nebulous thoughts, born at the end of the eighteenth century, were slowly crystallising into shape, while the fierce light of reason was turned ruthlessly upon many dark superstitions. The new ideas were accepted, at first with a shock of surprise, next with a faint-hearted belief, and then as established facts. Finally, the facts appeared as dogmas and remained so until they in turn were displaced by further discoveries and still newer ideas. Thus it has always been. Religious creeds, systems of government, artistic conceptions, literary and scientific methods, and mechanical inventions are tried, accepted, and finally discarded. Sometimes development proceeds by a new road, at others it turns back along the old highway.

In twenty-five years France passed through the stages of personal rule, anarchy, popular government, military despotism, limited monarchy, to one-man power again. The people of Europe had fought for liberty until they were exhausted, and were forced to accept tyranny again. Philosophers at the same time destroyed old beliefs and offered others to live their brief life, fulfil their purpose, and then in turn be shelved. In economics Adam Smith solidified the idea of freedom of trade, and now after a century we can trace the growth of the principle into an established fact and

into a dogma in the United Kingdom, while the rest of the world has refused to be persuaded. In its turn sooner or later this idea will be replaced by another.

Byron invented a new form of poetic art. Stories of love had been sung by ancient and mediæval poets in ethereal terms. Byron described sensuality in plain if beautiful words, and both removed the veil from the blushing virgin and tore the curtain ruthlessly from the nuptial couch. It was the birth of what is called realism. As in poetry, so in prose. In other and more polite spheres, Jane Austen and Anthony Trollope portrayed actual life, not imaginary characters. In religion, many doubted whether the dogmas of the reformers were absolutely infallible, whether the Roman Catholics and Nonconformists were not really fit to take a share in the government of the country, whether indeed a person could not conduct his life in an honourable, useful, and noble manner without conforming to the dogmas and practices of any particular Church. It was attempted to portray things as they existed, and not as they were conceived by remote authorities. Even Turner was a realist in his youth, and never lost the art of accurate drawing. Indeed, his most extravagant colour effects, although far stronger than those of any other painter, never libel nature.

Thinkers quietly and calmly observed, reasoned, and built. The frenzied rhetoric of Burke, called forth by the excesses of the French Revolution, was replaced by the calm, cold analysis of facts of Hallam. People commenced to examine for themselves, and unquestioning faith in remote authorities dwindled. Writers and orators were therefore forced to appeal to the reason as well as to the feelings, and workers in the most diverse walks of life were affected by the same desire to discover the truth for themselves, and not to lean so much upon tradition.

Byron,¹ the matter-of-fact rhetorical poet of the nineteenth century, was so strongly affected by the spirit of the age, and the desire to portray life as it was, or, to be more accurate, as it seemed to him, that he greatly shocked many by his verse. He failed to realise that each creates his own world for himself, and was resentful when others with different

¹ "Life of Lord Byron," by Thomas Moore, Esq.

spheres criticised him adversely. While at Cambridge, at the age of eighteen, he printed his first volume of poems, but as a friend thought one of them licentious, he destroyed the whole edition in a fit of rage. In the following year he published "Hours of Idleness," which called forth a severe and unfair criticism from the *Edinburgh Review*. Although it would have been more dignified to have passed this by in silence, Byron fiercely retaliated, and therefore gave us the finest satirical poem in the English language, "English Bards and Scotch Reviewers," which appeared in 1810. Soon afterwards he travelled on the shores of the Mediterranean and visited Greece. Freedom in thought, in language, and in action were the keynotes of his life, but his sympathy with the Greeks was caused more by his knowledge of their former greatness than by anything he observed at the time of his visits. It was the nation of Homer, not the modern kingdom of Capodistria, that appeared in his dreams. In the meantime he was writing "Childe Harold" and many of his shorter poems. His moral instincts were of the freest order, but he formed an attachment for Miss Milbanke, who at first refused his offer of marriage, then accepted him in 1815. His conduct was, however, so unsatisfactory that soon after she had borne him a daughter, Augusta Ada, she left his side, doubting whether he were really sane, for he admired the physical beauty of women as violently as he despised their characters. "The Siege of Corinth," "Manfred," "Beppo," and other short poems now rapidly appeared, and the first cantos of "Don Juan" were finished before 1820, when he was openly living with the Countess Guiccioli. Soon afterwards he sighed for an active life, and in 1823 decided to throw in his lot with the Greek insurgents. Early in the next year he was chosen to lead a force against Lepanto, where he died as he lived for freedom. Deserted by his wife, driven from society, abused by his critics, and usually heavily in debt, the life of Byron was not a happy one, but he must have enjoyed a sense of literary power and greatness which is granted only to the few.

Shelley¹ attacked religion, governments, and every kind

¹ "Life of Shelley," by Professor Dowden. "Life of Shelley," by Thomas Jefferson Hogg. "Last Days of Shelley and Byron," by Trelawney.

of law and order, and was so indifferent to society that he both preached and lived a life of absolute freedom. Yet nothing in the training either of Byron or Shelley can account for the uncurbed violence of their instincts, since both were of noble birth, and both were politely schooled. A fierce independence early showed itself in Shelley, and while at Eton he had such a contempt for authorities, divine as well as human, that he earned the nicknames "Mad Shelley" and "Shelley the Atheist." His opinions developed rapidly with his literary ability, and his residence at Oxford lasted for one year only, when the tutors of University College expelled him for writing a pamphlet of burlesque verses and arguments in which he attempted to point out the necessity of atheism. He then went to London, and in 1811 married Miss Harriet Westbrook, the daughter of a retired innkeeper. During the next few years the state of Ireland greatly aroused his sympathy, and he attracted some notice by an extraordinary freak. He sent his "Declaration of Rights" and his poem "The Devil's Walk" to sea in boxes and bottles. In 1813 he printed "Queen Mab," a philosophical poem, in which in superb language is preached the gospel of domestic free-thought. It was impossible for such a mind to live long in harmony with that of his good-natured but uncultured wife. She for a time indeed dutifully attempted to fit herself by study for her position, but realising her failure, she left him in April 1813, and repaired with her daughter to her father's house at Bath. Shelley, craving for sympathy and deeply wounded by his wife's desertion, now for the first time knew himself to be in love. With no sign of shame or remorse he left England with Mary Godwin and sought a home in Switzerland. This was the most romantic if most distressing period of the poet's life. Harriet gave birth to his son Charles Bysshe, and received the sympathy of both her own family and his, while the Godwins were naturally deeply distressed and resentful at his conduct. To add to his troubles funds ran very low, and he was obliged to return to England. This source of anxiety was, however, removed when his father succeeded to the baronetcy, and finding that it was in the power of his heir to

encumber the estate, consented to allow him £1000 a year, £200 of which he settled on Harriet. Neither prosperity nor adversity could extinguish his literary fire, and "Alastor" and the "Essay on Christianity" were composed about this date. A year of deep trouble followed. Mary Godwin bore him a son in January; Claire Clairmont, her half-sister, gave birth to a daughter, the fruit of her amour with Byron, who was now Shelley's close friend; and finally, Harriet's body was found in the Serpentine in December. Meanwhile, the poet, perhaps driven by misery to seek solace in work, threw all his energies into his most ambitious work, "The Revolt of Islam," which appeared in 1818, but at first attracted scant notice. Many poems now followed rapidly, inspired by the events of the day, and in the autumn of 1821 the Greek insurrection prompted "Hellas," but soon afterwards he commenced a tragedy on Charles I. He had fought steadily against the shackles of life; he was soon to gain the freedom of death. Sailing from Leghorn on July 8, 1822, his boat was struck by a squall and foundered. Some days later his body was cast ashore near Viareg, and, after being buried in the sands for a month, was cremated and the ashes interred in the Protestant cemetery at Rome.

Very different was the life and work of the critic and historian who was contemporary with these two poets. Henry Hallam,¹ born in 1777, and educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford, seems to have been little affected by the political storms amidst which he passed his early life. His judgments are cool, dispassionate, calm, and, above all, just, and his works are the result of the deepest research, the most exhaustive analysis, and the most carefully balanced and matured reflection. Unlike his predecessor Hume, he always sought the originals, accepted nothing as a fact until he had made a thorough examination of the evidence, and exemplified in himself that the first duty of a historian was to tell the truth. He was one of the earliest writers for the *Edinburgh Review*, but his first great work, the "View of Europe during the Middle Ages," was not published until 1818, when it at once made a deep

¹ Life in "National Biography," vol. xxiv. p. 96.

mark. Nine years later the "Constitutional History of England from the Accession of Henry VII. to the Death of George II." appeared, and was accepted as a standard work. In 1838 appeared the "Introduction to the Literature of Europe in the Fifteenth, Sixteenth, and Seventeenth Centuries," which has never been surpassed as an example of pure and just criticism.

Hallam practised at the bar until the death of his father in 1812, when he inherited estates in Lincolnshire, which enabled him to devote his whole time to the study of history and literature. He had married in 1807 Julia, the daughter of Sir Abraham Elton of Somerset, who bore him eleven children, though only four reached adult age. Of these his son, Arthur Henry, showed great aptitude for politics and philosophy, and early gained the friendship of Tennyson, who afterwards immortalised him in the beautiful poem, "In Memoriam." Hallam was much grieved at the loss of this son. Still he continued steadily at work until the "Introduction to Literature" was finished, when he retired into private life, and died in 1859.

Ricardo,¹ philosopher and economist, was born of Jewish parents in 1772, and at the early age of fourteen was employed in his father's business on the Stock Exchange. In 1799 he met Adam Smith, and became much interested in scientific finance. Ten years later he was one of the very few who realised that the high prices then ruling were due to the unrestricted issue of paper money by the Bank. Some letters he wrote to the *Morning Chronicle* and afterwards printed in pamphlet form indeed greatly influenced the Bullion Committee of 1810, which came to the same conclusion. In 1817 he published a work entitled "Principles of Political Economy and Taxation," in which he argued that rent is the surplus profit which any given land, either by its situation or quality of soil, yields over the worst land in cultivation. His friends, among whom was James Mill, now urged him to enter Parliament, and Lord Portarlington, who had borrowed £50,000 from him, nominated him for the borough of that name in return. He at once joined the Radicals, and voted steadily against the

¹ "Life of Ricardo," by M'Culloch.

"Six Acts" and the Foreign Enlistment and Alien Acts. Always of a kindly philanthropic nature, his family and friends were devoted to him, and he left many sincere mourners when he died in September 1823.

Adam Smith, Bentham, and Ricardo are three thinkers whose conclusions have been closely adopted and acted upon by statesmen, and the soundness of their doctrines has been proved by practical test. Free Trade, a just Criminal Law, and a Gold Currency are indeed worthy monuments to their memory.

Among the mourners for Ricardo was James Mill, who had been one of his closest friends for many years. Born in 1773, Mill was the son of a shoemaker, and his education was at first limited. Then, on the advice and with the assistance of Lady Jane Stuart, he went to Edinburgh University, where he studied very diligently, and acquired a good knowledge of Greek. In October 1802, her husband, Sir John Stuart, took him to London, and he heard many of the debates in the House of Commons. Soon after, he edited the *Literary Journal*, which ran for three years as a shilling weekly. In 1806 he began his great work, the "History of British India," which proved to be a far more laborious task than he had expected. In the meantime his family was increasing far more rapidly than his income, so that in 1814 he was compelled to work for seventeen hours a day educating his children, writing articles, and continuing his history. This appeared in 1818 and at once became a standard work, for in it the facts are stated clearly and accurately. The author, however, held strong opinions, and his criticism of the policy of the East India Company cannot be called impartial. Nevertheless, his knowledge of India was very great, and a wise choice was made when he was appointed in 1819 "assistant to the examiner of India correspondence." Again his evidence was of great value in 1833 during the inquiries preceding the renewal of the charter to the Company. In 1824 the *Westminster Review* appeared and at once attracted attention by publishing his vigorous attack on the *Edinburgh Review*. Although actuated by strong feelings and in favour of extreme reforms, he never advocated or countenanced violent

measures. In politics he may be described, indeed, as a philosophic Radical, while as a historian he is one whose narrative inspires more confidence than his conclusions. His personality is too much to the fore. We meet him on the field of Assaye and in the council chamber at Calcutta, in the midst of the Himalayan campaign and in the English House of Commons, until the story of India seems to be a text for a sermon by James Mill on the duty of chartered companies.

The three poets and essayists, Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Southey, are very distinct individuals, yet they may be considered from a certain standpoint in a group. Their works are distinctly original, their mode of life was free and unconventional, and their command of words very great. Each one showed at the university a distaste for routine studies and the narrow "donnish" atmosphere of the times, each was at first an ardent young Radical, each turned into a Tory, and each appreciated the literary genius of the others while the critics were adverse and the public indifferent. Their mutual friend Lamb was of a similar character, but was compelled to lead a routine office life by the necessity of supporting his sister, who was unfortunately subject to fits of insanity. With such a freedom-loving nature the boredom of keeping fixed hours was at times intense, and yet we must regard it as a blessing that the author of the "Essays of Elia" was forced by circumstances to lead such a life, and prohibited by his poverty from indulging to any great extent in the vice of drink which obtained some hold upon him. The works of Lamb charm by their delightful style, but contain no great or deep thoughts. His essays are beautiful examples of kindly irony, and the keen and just criticisms contained in many of his letters show a very high sense of poetic ideals.

Wordsworth¹ combined the temperament of a dreamer with that of an accurately observing nature poet. This resulted from his deep knowledge of the early English writers and the powerful forces acting during his youth.

¹ "Life of Wordsworth," by Professor Knight. "Lake Poets," by De Quincey.

He was always calmly philosophical, even when most affected by sympathy for the French Revolution, and his private life was almost prosaic, yet never ordered or arranged in any definite manner. In 1802 he married Miss Mary Hutchinson of Penrith, with whom he lived happily for the remainder of his life. His early poems, such as "An Evening Walk," are strong only in style. The "Prelude" was written between 1799 and 1805, and then the "Excursion," which did not appear, however, until 1814. These works show a simple directness which has a peculiar calming influence: in them we find no fiery sensuality, no strong rhetoric; instead, a cool description of healthful human interests and feelings. Wordsworth's political views altered greatly as he grew older. He then realised the danger of sudden and violent changes, and that by slow and steady stages only can nations safely alter their organic shape.

Southey¹ also entirely changed his political creed as he advanced in age. In his case, however, we can only see a violent reaction from one side to the other. His earliest poems, "Joan of Arc" and "Wat Tyler," passionately uphold Jacobinism and denounce the war with France. His later works counsel a vigorous fight against rebellion and indecently attack Napoleon. Throughout, his political lays differ greatly from his historical and biographical works. The "Life of Nelson," the "History of Brazil," and the Lives of Cowper, Wesley, and Bunyan, are written in moderate language and with great literary ability. Apart from his works, the life of Southey presents little of interest. When he left Oxford, he formed a plan to emigrate to America with Coleridge and a young Quaker named Lowell, and there establish a communistic settlement. The first essential was, however, to cross the Atlantic, and as the money was not forthcoming for the passage, the scheme was abandoned. In 1795 he married Miss Fricker of Bristol, and in 1801 became private secretary to Isaac Cory, Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer. The death of Mr. Pye rendering vacant the office of Poet Laureate, this was bestowed upon

¹ Southey in "English Men of Letters" series, by Professor Dowden. De Quincey's "Lake Poets."

him in 1813. Twenty years later Sir Robert Peel gave him a pension of £300 a year, and four years later he married his second wife, Caroline Anne, the daughter of Charles Bowles of Buckland; but his mental powers now rapidly sank into imbecility, and he died in 1843.

Coleridge¹ was an ardent admirer of Fox and the Whigs, but never advocated Jacobin principles. At Cambridge he was censured by his tutor for applauding William Frend, a fellow of Jesus College, who was tried in the Vice-Chancellor's Court for printing a pamphlet of distinctly heterodox opinions. Soon afterwards he fled to London and enlisted in the 15th Dragoons under the name of Silas Tomkyn Comberback. His identity was, however, soon discovered, and he was at once discharged. When on a visit to Oxford in June 1794 he made the acquaintance of Southey, and soon after the two poets engaged themselves to two sisters, the Misses Frickers of Bristol, whom they married the next year. After a visit to Germany Coleridge followed Southey and Wordsworth to the Lakes. The three now published a joint work, the "Lyrical Ballads," which called forth the term "The Lake Poets." Unfortunately, Coleridge soon after became a slave to opium-eating, and it was not until 1816 that he conquered the habit. The chief charm of his works lies in their originality; his reasoning follows no rules of logic; his morals are not those of any distinct sect, and his political ideas are not those of any definite party. His works are indeed pure literature, with a meaning simple perhaps to the writer but not to the reader. It is, for example, impossible to discover the meaning or moral of the "Ancient Mariner." Why should the wedding guest have been delayed, and why should the Ancient Mariner be doomed to tell such a gruesome story in such beautiful language? Coleridge, indeed, seems to have considered the arrangement of matter and verse as an end in itself and not as a means either of conveying ideas or of telling a story.

Coleridge the mysterious, Wordsworth the calm, and Southey the wild, they may fairly be termed, and different as they were in temperament, they were linked together by the

¹ "Life of Coleridge," by James Gillman. "National Biography," xi. 302. Traill's "Life" in "English Men of Letters."

knowledge that each one was a master of the subject he loved, English literature.

Pathetically beautiful are the works and life of Keats, He who sang that "a thing of beauty is a joy for ever" struck a note that has never ceased to sound. Far from the arena wherein men struggled for fortune and fame, the youthful poet dreamt of love and dedicated his life to the cause for which so many have sacrificed themselves. Keats was a poet who sang only of beauty and love, nymphs and satyrs. In appearance, in thought, in life, and in death, the composer of "Endymion" and "Lamia" was ever above all things a songster framing words into verse. We seek in vain for vulgar political brawling or malicious personal attack in his poems. His short life was full of disappointments and of sordid financial trouble. Still, if he seemed to nurse his love for Fanny Brawne and find sad pleasure in his melancholy, he was ever patient and brave when assailed with other less sentimental troubles. He died at the early age of twenty-five, soon after he had been received into the front rank of poets.

Smollett and Fielding create and maintain interest in their rare characters, improbable scenes and startling plots, whereas Jane Austen¹ set to work to portray with fidelity the acts and probable motives of such people as are usually found in the neighbourhood of country parsonages. In this she succeeded so admirably that she received praise from both the *Quarterly* and the *Edinburgh Reviews*.

It is impossible for a reader to-day of such a work as "Pride and Prejudice" to appreciate the subtle nicety with which she drew characters from life, for they no longer exist. Sir Walter Scott, however, said she had a talent for describing the involvements and feelings and characters of ordinary life, which was to him the most wonderful he had ever met. Besides this, a certain veiled irony in many of her best passages greatly adds to their interest and zest. The works all show evidence of being carefully built and frequently revised, which has had the effect of causing the dialogues in places to be a little pedantic. Still, it is possible that she reproduces with considerable accuracy the usual style of con-

¹ "National Biography," ii. 259.

versation of the period. Her life was as simple as her works. Born in a country rectory in Hampshire, she afterwards lived and wrote at Bath and then at Southampton. Her first novel, "Sense and Sensibility," was published in 1811, when she was already thirty-six years of age, but the rest followed rapidly. Unlike her contemporary, Maria Edgeworth always wrote stories which may be described in the objectionable modern phrase as "novels with a purpose." Often they point some moral or educational precept. Nevertheless they always abound with excellent sketches of Irish life and manners. Her "Tales of Fashionable Life," produced in 1809, is perhaps the most powerful of her works, and at once made her name as a keenly observant and shrewdly thinking writer. Before this date she had, however, won notice with "Belinda," "Castle Rackrent," and "Leonora." Her influence upon literature was great, for not only did she show that novels could instruct, but she also raised the standard of taste in fiction writers.

A great change was wrought in artistic methods by John Constable. Compare one of his works with an old Dutch landscape and it is easy to appreciate the difference between the conventional art of the eighteenth and the realistic painting of the nineteenth centuries. It is true Constable did not understand how to represent distance, for all the objects in his pictures are equally in focus, but still they are drawn accurately. He was indeed an artist of a very high order of merit, who in the face of neglect and cold criticism plodded steadily on until at length in 1829 he was elected a Royal Academician. It was indeed a little curious that his brother artists and the public did not realise the true value of his work earlier. Three of his finest works, "A Cornfield," "The Valley Farm," and "The Hay Wain," illustrate well the method and the genius of the man who may justly be termed the founder of the school of faithful landscape painting.

Turner¹ was engaged from 1807 to 1818 on his famous series of seventy-one plates in brown ink which are known as the "Liber Studiorum." In 1812 he built himself a house in Queen Anne Street, and also had a residence at Twickenham. Soon after he changed his style of painting, and the

¹ See volume I.

"Approach to Venice," "Venice from the Canal of the Giudecca," "Crossing the Brook," "The Field of Waterloo," and "Ulysses deriding Polyphemus" are excellent examples of what is sometimes called his second style. John Hoppner (1759-1810), one of the finest portrait-painters at this period, had the good fortune to be patronised by the Prince of Wales and soon became a fashionable artist. He was elected a Royal Academician in 1795, and contributed many pictures to the exhibition. "The Countess of Oxford" is one of his finest works.

Sir Thomas Lawrence (1769-1830), the friendly rival of Hoppner for many years, early showed great ability in drawing. At the age of ten he started as a painter in crayons at Oxford, and soon afterwards moved to Bath. In 1787 he entered as a student at the Academy and proved a great success in London. After the death of Sir Joshua Reynolds he became painter to the King, and is responsible for many of the best portraits of the Royal Family in existence. In 1794 he was elected a Royal Academician, and in 1815 was knighted. Five years later he was chosen President. A marvellous collection of his works is contained in the Waterloo Gallery at Windsor, and many others are in the National Portrait Gallery. The portraits of the Emperor Francis, Princess Lievens, and Sir Samuel Romilly are good examples of his art.

John Copley (1737-1815) included many of his portraits in large historical works. "The Death of the Earl of Chatham" is a group of Peers in their brightly coloured robes in the House of Lords, and "The Siege and Relief of Gibraltar" contains many portraits of eminent officers. John Crome (1769-1821) painted landscapes in a simple realistic manner which is very effective, and many other English artists were striving with success to reproduce faithfully actual scenes. Mysticism in art as well as in literature was rapidly disappearing and has never since been revived to any great extent.

British Governments have never interested themselves much in art or literature, and honours to artists and writers have been doled out very sparingly. The Ministers in 1822, however, were exceptions to the rule. John Julius Anger-

stein, a rich London merchant, who had collected a magnificent gallery of pictures, died in that year, and it was decided to purchase his collection for £57,000 and form a nucleus of a National Gallery. A suitable building was taken in Pall Mall and the foundation laid of the wonderful collection of pictures in which every school of painting is now represented.

At the same time steps were taken to form a library worthy of the nation. George III. had in the course of his long life collected 65,000 volumes. At his death the new King thought he would sell this magnificent library, but the rest of the Royal Family and the Ministers intervened, and the books were presented to the British Museum.¹ Suitable rooms were erected and the library founded, which has since become the noblest in the world.

¹ "Greville's Memoirs," vol. i. p. 65. Hansard, vol. ix. p. 1113 *et seq.*

CHAPTER XL

George Stephenson and the locomotive—The Liverpool and Manchester Railway—John Rennie and his work—Thomas Telford—Development of the cotton, woollen, and linen industries—Effect of the introduction of machinery—Steam navigation—London, Liverpool, Manchester, and Birmingham—Expansion of trade—The Colonies in 1825—Formation of joint-stock companies—The speculating mania—Lamentable condition of the poor—Severe punishments for crime—The prison reformers, John Howard and Elizabeth Fry—General condition of the country.

THE fame of George Stephenson is written in lines of steel all over the world. He indeed completely revolutionised locomotion, for he converted days into hours, miles into furlongs, and tons into pounds. Born in 1781, of humble parents, he early showed signs of mechanical genius, and after serving machinery in various ways, he was appointed in 1812 enginewright to the Killingworth Colliery.

Many were already ambitious to drive a steam horse. William Murdoch, one of Watt's assistants, made a working model of a steam carriage in 1784; Richard Trevithick built a machine which ran in Cornwall; and in 1811 John Blenkinsop fashioned a locomotive for hauling coal waggons. This, however, ran on rack rails and was very cumbersome in its movements.¹ Stephenson's engine had smooth wheels and a cylindrical boiler, and proved successful at its first trial in July 1814. Its inventor, however, soon discovered that the ascent of even slight inclines added greatly to the task of his engine, and he therefore decided to lay railroads as nearly level as possible by means of cuttings, tunnels, and embankments. The proprietors of Hetton Colliery built a railway eight miles in length in 1819, which was opened for traffic in 1822, and in the same year a plan to connect Stockton and Darlington by a tram-road was approved by Parliament. The first locomotive which passed along this line in 1825 weighed eight tons and attained a

¹ "Lives of the Engineers," Samuel Smiles. George and Robert Stephenson, vol. v. pp. 63-88.

speed of more than twelve miles an hour. The tract for a railway connecting Liverpool and Manchester was next surveyed by Stephenson, but, after a fierce debate, the scheme was rejected by Parliament in 1825. In the following year plans made by Sir John and George Rennie for the same railway were approved, Stephenson was appointed engineer, and the work commenced. Great difficulties were experienced in carrying the line over the Chat Moss bog and in cutting through the Olive Mount, but eventually these were overcome. The directors, after considering the advantages of fixed engines and haulage by means of ropes, decided to offer a prize for the best working locomotive. Stephenson's engine, "The Rocket," was built at Newcastle, and consisted of a cylindrical boiler with twenty-five copper tubes¹ and engines placed on the outside of the framework. It weighed four and a quarter tons, and on October 6, 1829, ran twelve miles in fifty-three minutes. This was the birthday of the railways of the world.

While Stephenson and others were inventing locomotive machinery, the Rennies were preparing the surfaces on which it was to travel. Roads, bridges, canals, docks, harbours, breakwaters—all were built by the remarkable family headed by John Rennie. He was the son of a farmer, but at an early age showed a remarkable talent for mechanics. He spanned the Thames by Waterloo Bridge in 1817, and by London Bridge, which was built from his design and completed by his second son, John, in 1831. Plymouth Breakwater, which was commenced in June 1811, is another witness of his fame, and at the time was the greatest work of its kind which had ever been attempted. Built solidly of cubes of stone one and a half or two tons each in weight, it consists of a wall a mile long rising from the deep water, and enclosing one of the finest harbours in the United Kingdom. Shippers are indebted to him for some of the London docks, the East India docks, Holyhead and Ramsgate harbours, and the dockyards at Chatham and Sheerness. Many of the inland canals also are the work of his hand, and he was closely connected with the drainage of Lincolnshire fens. Rennie died in 1821, and lies in St. Paul's Cathedral, but

¹ Considerable difficulty was experienced in making the tubes water-tight.

fortunately much of his genius remained in his sons George and John, who finished many of his works and proved themselves worthy heirs.¹

Engaged in work of a similar nature and with as happy results was Thomas Telford. He was the son of a shepherd, but early forsook the fold for the quarry, and after learning the trade of a stone-mason became engineer and architect to the Ellesmere Canal, designed to connect the Mersey, the Dee, and the Severn. The waterway had to be carried over the valley of the Coiriog at Chirk and over the Dee at Pont Cysylltan. Both aqueducts are of great length and height, and the waterway is contained in iron troughs fixed in stone masonry instead of in puddled earth as in the canal designed by Brindley. The greatest of all Telford's works, however, is the Caledonian Canal, which carves its way through the centre of Scotland from the North Sea to the Atlantic, although the most amazing at the time was the erection of the suspension bridge over the Menai Straits. Not only did Telford fashion liquid paths, but he also constructed roadways over the most rugged mountains of Wales and Scotland. He was a genial bachelor with literary Bohemian tastes, and was beloved by a large circle of friends. Unfortunately the latter years of his life were marred by an incurable deafness, and he died on September 2, 1834. He now rests in Westminster Abbey.

In the factories the steam-engines of Boulton and Watt twisted the machinery of Arkwright and Cartwright. The power-loom of the latter was a great invention, but it was slow and had often to be stopped. This serious drawback was remedied by Radcliffe, one of the most successful cotton-spinners of the time. Everywhere, indeed, the new spinning machinery replaced the old hand-wheels, and in 1820 there were 14,150 power-looms in use, which at that date seemed a prodigious number. Not only was the comparatively new manufacture of cotton being rapidly developed, but the ancient staple industry in wool was also completely changed by machinery. The woollen trade was, however, governed by the most venerable traditions, and a great number of workmen steadily resisted the new methods. Nevertheless,

¹ Smiles' "Lives of the Engineers."

in the West Riding spinning was performed by machines in 1800, and at Nottingham in 1809 Heathcoat invented a new process for making lace.

The first effect of new machinery is to lessen the number of workmen required, and thus to lead to great discontent. The second result is to cheapen the cost of production, and thus to benefit the worker himself. In the meantime he and his family suffer from empty stomachs. Very few people will patiently suffer hardships in order to reap rewards in the future, and hunger is the most violent of agitators. It is not strange then that the working-man regarded the new machinery as his enemy and wreaked vengeance upon it, or that the Government were obliged to suppress the disturbances by force.

The ultimate triumph of machinery over man must, however, be attributed not to laws but to the fact that the people adapted themselves to the new order of things. But if at this date the growth of the woollen trade was hindered by the action of the working-man, in the past it had been retarded by his rulers. After the Restoration Parliament stopped the export of British wool, and forbade the entry of Irish woollen goods, which were therefore smuggled into France in return for contraband spirits. The English sheep produced better mutton than wool, and the manufacturers therefore imported the raw material. In order to protect the home growers Addington levied an import duty on wool of 5s. 3d. per cwt. in 1802, and Vansittart raised it to 6s. 8d. in 1813. Still the industry steadily grew, and with it the trade with foreign countries.

In 1815 the exports of British and Irish produce exceeded £49,000,000, while the imports were more than £31,000,000 in value. Great Britain, indeed, monopolised the woollen and cotton trades, while Ireland was encouraged to manufacture linen by receiving bounties on all linen goods sent to England. In this way the Ulster trade was built up and acquired the importance which it has ever since retained. Meanwhile the iron industry was growing so rapidly that the annual produce in 1820 was about 400,000 tons, and as this necessitated the use of a great amount of fuel, coal-mining also became more profitable. Thanks to the lamp of Sir

Humphry Davy the miner could work without fear. The output of the mines was also greatly increased, for the large amount of coal which had been left in the shape of pillars to support their roofs was now removed and timber struts used instead.

Steam navigation was introduced by Bell in Scotland and Fulton in America about the same date. At the end of 1812, the *Comet*, a steamboat of twenty-five tons and three-horse power, glided over the waters of the Clyde at the rate of seven miles an hour. Eight years later a steamship crossed the Atlantic, and in 1824 there were 126 vessels afloat propelled by the same means. The rapid growth of manufacture and the better carriage by road, canal, and sea greatly affected the various towns and villages in the country. In 1821 the population of England and Wales was about 11,700,000, while Scotland contained 2,093,000 and Ireland 6,801,000 people.¹

London was increasing at the rate of 20,000 people a year, and more than 1,200,000 lived in the capital in 1821. The Thames was spanned at London Bridge, Blackfriars, Waterloo, Westminster, Vauxhall, and Southwark. Regent's Park and the magnificent street leading to Pall Mall were built during the war, and the road along the bank of the Thames between Westminster and Vauxhall was formed at the same period. Coal gas, first used by Mr. Murdock, a Cornish engineer, gleamed in Pall Mall in 1807, and sixteen years later 215 miles of streets were lighted in a similar manner. Dublin at this date was the second city in the United Kingdom, with a population of 185,881. Situated in a bay of surpassing beauty, with a coach and steamer service to London which carried the mails in thirty-seven hours, with a Viceregal Court to support the tradesmen, with a University rich in opportunities to give and acquire knowledge, and with a fine harbour built by Rennie, nothing was wanted except steady work to ensure the prosperity of all its inhabitants. Unfortunately politics proved more attractive than labour. Unrest was chronic and riots so frequent that the large body of troops under the immediate orders of the Lord-Lieutenant was frequently called upon to restore order.

¹ Porter's "Progress of the Nation," p. 319.

Capital and commerce were therefore driven from the place,¹ and its development ceased.

When the first steamer crossed the Atlantic and anchored in the Mersey few dreamt of the enormous fleet which was so soon to find its harbour in Liverpool. Two years later 131,801 people dwelt on the northern bank of the river, but the site of Birkenhead was only occupied by four houses. Manchester equalled Liverpool, and was rapidly being expanded by the cotton trade, while Glasgow was already known as the birthplace of many ships. Edinburgh possessed all its beauty and most of its famous buildings in 1820, but the Calton Hill was not yet connected with the town by a bridge, and a wide space existed between the city and the port of Leith. The people of Birmingham were helped by the canal formed by Boulton, and possessed the nursery of the steam-engine. In 1821 they numbered over 106,000, and were engaged for the most part in the hardware trade. As quickly as the towns in the United Kingdom poured forth manufactured goods the new steamships carried them to all the countries in the world, which were soon converted from scenes of carnage into peaceful markets.

Trade followed the flag and the flag followed trade. In India great tracts of territory won by hard fighting became cotton gardens, and the raw material was sent to England and returned as shirts which concealed the dark skins of the natives. Conquest had added to the British Empire Gibraltar, Malta, and the Cape of Good Hope, the sentinels of the sea. Ceylon, the Mauritius, St. Lucia, Trinidad, Demerara, and Essequibo were captured during the war with France. Australasia was opened by the settlement of New South Wales in 1787, and of Van Diemen's Land in 1803. Canada, Jamaica, Tobago, and St. Vincent were the eldest children of the mother land.

With markets in every clime, with harbours in every sea, with a highway patrolled by a victorious fleet, nothing was required but willing hearts and busy hands to convert the United Kingdom into the factory of the world. The great manufacturer was born amidst strife; he was destined to

¹ *Annual Register*, 1823.

reach his prime in peace. Much, however, required to be learnt before the people, who for centuries had been mainly engaged in tilling the land, could successfully perform their new duties. The handling of capital, the enrolling of companies, the building of factories, railways, roads and canals, the disposal of goods, and the functions and duties of wholesale agents and retailers were not as yet clearly understood. The master and the workman were frankly antagonistic, trades unions were in their infancy, and were chiefly occupied in controlling the entry of apprentices into business. The dissatisfied rioted and struck work, while the employers relied upon the assistance of the Government to restore and maintain order.

During the period of the war and high prices most of the private Acts of Parliament gave power to enclose commons. Now the owners of capital endeavoured instead to form joint-stock companies. Many of these undertook to build railways, water-works, gas-light works, steamships, canals, bridges, docks and mines; but a great number were formed to work mines abroad, especially in the Spanish-American colonies, and these became very popular when their independence was recognised. Many careful and thrifty people suddenly became gamblers and poured their hoards into the outstretched hands of the smiling financial prophets. Much wealth indeed changed owners, and a new class of men appeared in England, who have since attained much power and largely affected the commercial development of the whole Empire.

Meanwhile the condition of the poor worker was often absolutely critical. In the country the wage rate was about nine or ten shillings a week, and as the price of wheat was very high, the unfortunate labourer was obliged to do double work to earn a scant living. The workhouses could not accommodate the numbers who clamoured for help. Outdoor relief was given without question, and thus encouraged pauperism, for the masters administered the poor laws and gave relief with the one hand, while with the other they reduced wages to the lowest level at which the labourer could exist. In 1821 six millions of pounds were given from the rates to a million and a half of persons. Young children

were working fifteen and sixteen hours a day, and were virtually little better than slaves. Crime increased very rapidly, for there was often only a choice between the work-house, the prison and starvation. To check this punishments were rendered more severe, and in 1819 there were no less than two hundred felonies punishable with death. To steal goods to the value of 5s. from a shop, or 40s. from a dwelling-house, to purloin a sheep or horse, to break frames or machines were all capital offences. Nor were trials fair, for in 1815 the counsel of a man charged with a felony was not allowed to address the jury in his defence.¹

"Our murderous laws," wrote Wilberforce, "prevent prosecutions and often harden convicts' hearts," for many people hesitated to proceed against one who was liable to be punished with death, and juries often refused to convict an unfortunate individual of a trifling offence which might cost him his life. As in the state trials for sedition, so in the ordinary criminal cases, the humane common sense of the people to a certain extent shielded the accused from the gross injustice of the laws. Some wished to reduce the sentences, but when it was proposed that the thief who stole 5s. from a shop should be transported for life and not executed, this was strongly resisted by the peers and judges. The fate of the prisoners was terrible; hundreds of women and children were huddled together in large wards and small cells, were forced to sleep on the bare floor, and to cook, wash, and eat in the same room. Those awaiting trial and those already convicted, innocent and guilty, misdemeanants and felons, all crowded together in misery. Concealed from the public eye, removed from the sphere of political reformers, and with neither money nor interest, the prisoners themselves were helpless. It was therefore left to the private philanthropist to rescue the unfortunate criminals from such disgraceful treatment. In 1773 John Howard, High Sheriff of Bedfordshire, commenced his career as a prison reformer by visiting prisons in all parts of the country. At this time those who had been declared not guilty and those against whom no true bill had been found were detained in prison until certain fees were paid to the jailer. This

¹ Porter's "Progress of the Nation," p. 86; Hansard, vol. xviii. p. 1527.

unjust custom was abolished by Act of Parliament in 1774, when a Bill was also passed to improve the sanitary state of prisons and thus the health of the inmates. Three years later Howard published his work, "State of the Prisons in England and Wales, with Preliminary Observations and an Account of some Foreign Prisons," and in 1778 he gave evidence in the House of Commons to prove that vessels were unfitted to be used as places of detention. He now visited the Continent for the purpose of inspecting the prisons there, and afterwards travelled to Kherson in Southern Russia, where he died in 1790 of camp fever. Howard was a deeply religious man, an earnest Dissenter, a total abstainer, a vegetarian, and is said to have spent £30,000 of his fortune on his self-imposed task. The good work so ably begun was continued in a no less earnest manner by the Quakeress Elizabeth Fry, who in 1813 established a school at Newgate Prison in which the Scriptures were read. The prisoners soon learnt to love their friend, and the success of her work was so great that all classes of people were moved to give her aid. She visited prisons in all parts of the country and, after publishing the results of her researches in book form, tried to induce the Government to make better arrangements for the voyage of criminals to New South Wales. Not only did she labour to better the fate of the criminal in jail, but she also waited for him at the gates on his release and helped to found the Royal Manor Hall Asylum for Discharged Prisoners. Even when assailed with domestic troubles herself, she still continued to perform her noble and useful mission.

Dark clouds were still hovering over England at the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century, but the sun was bursting through in many places. The poor were very poor, but work was soon to be placed in their hands. The people had as yet no voice in the council of the nation, but the pathway to reform was rapidly being laid; the Roman Catholics were still deprived of their rights, but the prejudice against them was dying; statesmen were beginning to realise that they were more trustees of the nation than rulers of the people, and politicians were awakening to the fact that a seat in the House of Commons was more than a

mere chattel to be sold by the owner to the highest bidder. The newspapers were already a great power, and many of the most intellectual men in the country contributed to their pages. The necessity to educate every one was now recognised, and each knew himself to be not only a private individual, but an unit in a mighty Empire.

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